The Outlook

Volume 81 Saturday, December 9, 1905 Number 15

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THE OUTLOOK is a Weekly Newspaper and an Illustrated Monthly Magazine in one. It is published every Saturday—fifty-two issues a year. The fourth issue in each month is an Illustrated Magazine Number, containing about twice as many pages as the regular weekly issue, and many pictures.

PRICE.—The subscription price is Three Dollars a year, payable in advance. Ten cents a copy.

POSTAGE IS PREPAID by the publishers for all subscriptions in the United States, Hawaiian Islands, Philippine Islands, Guam, Porto Rico, Tutuila (Samoa), Shanghai, Canal Zone, Cuba, Canada, and Mexico. For all other countries in the Postal Union add *$1.56 for postage.*

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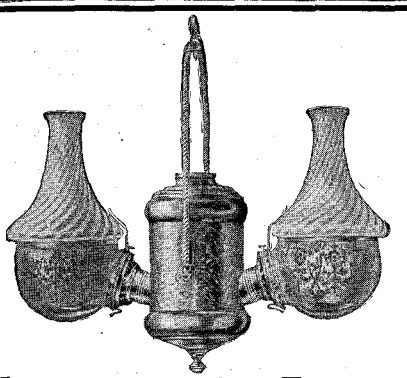

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The Outlook

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1905

The Removal of W. S. Leib

The action of President Roosevelt in removing Mr. William S. Leib, Assistant United States Treasurer at Philadelphia, for "constant and persistent violation of the Civil Service Law while in office," is in line with the conduct of the President in previous cases, and with his record as a Civil Service Reformer. It is also in line with sound and businesslike administration, and in harmony with the rapidly developing sentiment of the country. Mr. Leib had ample opportunity to meet the accusations made against him. Papers were submitted and statements made to the President in person covering all questions at issue, and after examination of this body of evidence the President came to the conclusion that there had been, on the part of Mr. Leib, "constant and persistent effort . . . to evade the provisions of the Civil Service Law, to hamper its workings as far as possible, and to obstruct in every way the action of the Commission." Mr. Leib took advantage, the President declares in his direct and incisive letter, of every kind of technicality in order to avoid carrying out the law in good faith. He had kept upon the roll in almost continuous positions some of his own relatives. In the case of one examination held in Mr. Leib's office, there was such clear evidence of fraud that it had to be canceled. This evidence implicated a near relative of Mr. Leib's, two persons from his own town, one person who was at that time serving in his own office, and a temporary clerk subsequently removed from the service for swearing falsely. Mr. Leib had personally coached a member of his family for the examination—an act of gross impropriety. He had also furnished to a temporary clerk in his office keys or answers to certain counting tests in the examination in the form of penciled memoranda to be copied by her, which was also grossly improper. The President declares that if his attention had been called to the matter at the time, his belief is that he would then have requested Mr. Leib's resignation. Mr. Leib is Chairman of the Republican Committee of Schuylkill County. He had the backing of Senators Penrose and Knox, who requested a special hearing for him, and Representative Patterson defended him. The action of the President will reinvigorate the morale of the entire service, and will command the approval of the whole country. It is unfortunate that it could not have been taken earlier.

❀

Progress of the Insurance Investigation

Mr. Richard A. McCurdy resigned from the office of President of the Mutual Life Insurance Company last week. His resignation was unanimously accepted by the Board of Trustees, and Mr. Frederic Cromwell, the Treasurer of the Company, was elected as his temporary successor. In his letter of resignation Mr. McCurdy stated that for several years it had been his intention to give up his office when he reached the age of seventy years, and that his health was in such a precarious condition that he could no longer continue to perform the duties of President. The report, however, that his son, Mr. Robert H. McCurdy, has tendered his resignation as General Manager of the Company, and that his son-in-law, Mr. Louis A. Thebaud, has withdrawn from the firm of Charles Raymond & Co., general agents, seems to indicate a general feeling among the members of the McCurdy family that their usefulness to the Mutual had become seriously impaired by recent revelations. Mr. George W. Perkins, Vice-President of the New York Life Insurance Company, was again one of the most interesting wit-

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nesses before the Insurance Committee. He testified at length concerning a transaction in the stock of the United States Steel Corporation which was managed through the New York Security and Trust Company, a subsidiary corporation of the New York Life. Although the share of the insurance company in the profits of the transaction amounted to a quarter of a million dollars, no record of it was made on the books of the company, and the greatest care was taken to keep any reference to it off the records. Mr. Perkins's explanation of the matter was that if any profit was made on the transaction it should go to the New York Life, while if a loss resulted it should be borne by the trust company; that the insurance company, therefore, really did not have any interest in the steel syndicate, and therefore it was advisable that it should not appear from its books that it had such an interest.

❀

Other Questionable Transactions

Another transaction as to which Mr. Perkins testified threw light on the methods pursued by him in administering funds of the insurance company. A loan of a million dollars was made to the Boston firm of Kidder, Peabody & Co. for the purchase of Mexican Central bonds. This loan was made by Mr. Perkins without consultation with any one. The money was supplied by the New York Life, the firm of brokers supposed they were dealing only with the New York Life, and the profits on the deal were sent in the form of a check to the insurance company. In the mind of Mr. Perkins, however, this loan was for the benefit of "Nylic," the association of agents of the New York Life through which they receive special compensation and prizes for good work in securing business. The check for the profits was sent to Mr. Perkins by the treasurer of the company, without being recorded on its books in any way. In fact, the insurance company supplied the money and Nylic took the profits. Further inquiry into this transaction revealed a curious practice on the part of Mr. Perkins in taking care of Nylic's funds, of which he is the manager. He deposits all the Nylic money in his personal bank account, invests it in connection with his own money, keeps no book account of Nylic funds, but merely memoranda of the securities and cash belonging to the organization, and reports to the other trustees at the end of the year how much Nylic owns. Mr. Perkins acknowledged that in case of his death no one could tell how much belonged to Nylic, although he could himself at any time make out a memorandum showing the facts. It has been pertinently asked whether Mr. Perkins receives interest on his daily bank balance, and if so, how he divides that interest between his personal funds and those of which he is trustee. It is reported, on what seems to be good authority, that Mr. Perkins will retire from the Vice-Presidency of the New York Life and from the chairmanship of its finance committee at the election in April. Another practice which does not seem to have afforded much profit to the policy-holders was brought out by the testimony of Mr. Theodore M. Banta, cashier of the New York Life. Several years ago, at the end of the year, seven hundred thousand dollars' worth of New York City stock was taken from the vaults of the company, and a certified check for their value substituted. The stocks were returned after a short time. As these securities were not subject to taxation, and as at that time of year taxes were due, it is an inference difficult to escape that the purpose of their abstraction was to enable some one, unknown, improperly to escape taxation. Just before the adjournment of the Committee for the Thanksgiving holiday, the Chairman, Senator Armstrong, issued a statement to policy-holders containing advice which they would do well to heed. He said: "Do not allow your policies to lapse on account of anything revealed by this investigation. Policy-holders are in a better position now than before the investigation began, and their position ought to improve steadily as our inquiry proceeds. The legislation we shall recommend will undoubtedly safeguard and strengthen the rights of policy-holders; but those who suffer their policies to lapse will lose the benefit of what has been done already, as well as of what we

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hope to accomplish. No such sacrifice ought to be made by policy-holders, and patience and courage for a short time yet will not only prevent loss, but will enable this committee to render the best service to the greatest number."

❀

A Demoralizing Strike

One of those strikes which gladden the enemies of organized labor and dishearten its best friends is now in progress in New York City. The housesmiths who have been at work on the buildings in process of erection by a firm of contractors, Post & McCord, were ordered by the National officers of their union to cease work, in spite of the fact that the local union is under contract not to strike without making some arrangement leading to arbitration. Moreover, these housesmiths have no grievance against their employers. The cause of the strike it is hard to state without making it seem ridiculous. The American Bridge Company, of New Haven, Connecticut, which is one of the component parts of the United States Steel Corporation, sublet a contract to a non-union firm. The National Housesmiths' Union thereupon called a strike upon the work of the American Bridge Company. The matter was in a way toward settlement, when a new difficulty arose at McKeesport, Pennsylvania. Thereupon the National officers of the Union decided that Post & McCord, of New York, were connected with the United States Steel Corporation, of which the American Bridge Company is a part, and that therefore the men employed on Post & McCord's buildings should go out on a sympathetic strike. In other words, the members of the Housesmiths' Union of New York were ordered to break their contract with their employers in order to force the settlement of a dispute at McKeesport with a concern with which the New York builders were supposed to be affiliated. Post & McCord in the meantime have affirmed that they are not connected with the United States Steel Corporation, and offered to show their records in proof of their assertion. But even if they were connected with the United States Steel Corporation, it would still remain true that the Union had broken its contract, and therefore had shown itself either incapable or unwilling to keep its word. A board composed of representatives of all the building trades unions and all the employers who had made this arbitration contract have considered the matter thoroughly, and have ordered the housesmiths back to work pending arbitration. This has created a conflict of authority between the New York board and the National officers. The strike is therefore still on. This is a capital illustration not only of the absurdities of the sympathetic strike, but also of the defects of labor organizations as they are frequently constituted. Every wise friend of trade-unions will hope, for the sake of the workingmen in America, that the Housesmiths' Union and the Association of Structural Iron Workers joining with it in this case will meet with a crushing defeat.

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The Jewish Quartermillenary

All over the United States, on Thanksgiving Day, the people of the Jewish race celebrated the passing of a quarter of a thousand years since the settlement of Jews in this country. It was a tribute to the just and fair treatment the race has received here that Thanksgiving Day was intentionally chosen for the purpose. The thankfulness felt and expressed by the Jews for the privileges of American citizenship inevitably came into sharp contrast with the sorrow and indignation at the oppression and massacre of Jews, even within the month, in Russia. At the great meeting held in New York City no utterance aroused greater applause than that of Mayor McClellan when he said that the Jewish martyrs will not have died in vain if the sympathy and human kindness felt in America for Jewish suffering shall serve to hasten the creation of an American race destined to lead the world in righteousness, justice, and honor. And a letter from President Roosevelt was read in which he explained the fact that in writing the letter he made an exception to his general rule of not writing letters for celebrations because of his desire to express his deep sympathy with the lamentable suf-

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ferings to which so many Jewish people have been subjected, and also to point out "what fine qualities of citizenship have been displayed by the men of Jewish faith and race who, having come to this country, enjoy the benefits of free institutions and equal treatment before the law." The generosity of these people has been shown over and over again by their liberal provision for their poor and needy, and just now has been strikingly illustrated by the rapidity with which a million dollars has been raised for Jewish sufferers in Russia. Ex-President Cleveland, in the chief address of the occasion, recalled the fact that Columbus was aided by Jewish support and comradeship in his search for the New World, and that the Jews had taken a generous part in the Revolution and had offered aid in the Civil War and in every National emergency. He ended with an eloquent plea for united and devoted consecration, under the guidance of the genius of toleration and equality, to the Nation's advancement and exaltation.

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A Historical Review

The development of the Jews in the United States in numbers and prosperity has indeed been remarkable. There are now about 1,600,000 Jews here—a Jewish population exceeded in no other country in the world except Russia and Austria-Hungary—while in New York City alone they are said to make up one-fifth of the entire population. Statistics show that one hundred years ago the total Jewish population of the United States was only 2,000—that is, in a century the number of Jews in America has been multiplied by 800. Moreover, much more than a half of the century's increase has been gained within the last quarter of a century. When we consider this vast and rapid influx of oppressed, ignorant, and poor people from foreign lands, it must be admitted that the progress made by the race, despite its constant and almost overwhelming increase from the least desirable regions and classes, is really marvelous. Historically there is a parallel between the first immigration of Jews to America and that of our day, for in the very year in which Columbus found America they were expelled from Spain, France, and Portugal, and soon began to seek entrance into the New World. The privilege of entry was, however, long denied them, and was only fully granted as regards the English colonies under the rule of Cromwell. Holland was one of the first nations to admit Jews to the colonies, and small settlements were made in Surinam, Curaçao, and Jamaica, whence they spread gradually to the English colonies in America. While discrimination was long exercised against the Jews in New Amsterdam and in Maryland, they enjoyed full freedom in Rhode Island from an early date, obtained religious freedom in what is now the metropolis when New Amsterdam became New York, and gained political equality everywhere at the Revolution by virtue of the Declaration of Independence. It is amusing, in view of latter-day developments, to read Peter Stuyvesant's ungracious grant of limited privileges in 1655 in what is now New York City:

> Jews or Portuguese people, however, shall not be employed in any public service (to which they are neither admitted in this city), nor allowed to have open retail shops; but they may quietly and peacefully carry on their business as beforesaid and exercise in all quietness their religion within their houses, for which end they must without doubt endeavor to build their houses close together in a convenient place on one or the other side of New Amsterdam—at their choice—as they have done here.

❀

In Memory of a Historic Contract

In the presence of several thousand spectators a bronze tablet was presented to the United States on the steps of the Sub-Treasury Building in New York City Wednesday afternoon, November 29, by the Ohio Company of Associates, of which Whitelaw Reid is President. This tablet, which the hurrying throngs of Wall Street will daily see, is unique; for it commemorates, not a battle, a victory, or a sainted resting-place, but merely the signing of a contract. Here, in the old building on the portico of which Washington was first inaugurated, there was signed an indenture, October 27, 1787, by which

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Arthur Lee and Samuel Osgood, on behalf of the United States Treasury, sold to Manasseh Cutler and Winthrop Sargent, acting for the original Ohio Company of Associates, five million acres of land on the Ohio River. The vital importance of this seemingly commonplace transaction is not apparent at once; in reality the famous Ordinance of 1787, which Daniel Webster ranked only second to the Declaration, would not have been enacted had this deal not been consummated. Congress refused to erect a great territory beyond the Alleghanies without being assured that it was to be occupied by worthy citizens. The then recently formed Ohio Company of Associates, made up of Revolutionary officers who wished to exchange their piles of almost worthless scrip for Western lands, was the key to the infinitely difficult and important problem. Under the leadership of General Rufus Putnam, with the hero-preacher, the Rev. Manasseh Cutler, as advocate and agent, this organization agreed to the demands of the delegates in Congress, and thereby made possible the passing of the great Ordinance creating the "Territory Northwest of the River Ohio," from which the imperial States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin have been carved. The tablet placed by the Ohio Company on the steps of the Sub-Treasury Building takes the shape of the State of Ohio, wherein the boundaries of that purchase are indicated by appropriate lines; the old town of Marietta, to which General Putnam led the vanguard of the Associates and made the first settlement in the Old Northwest, is shown. It is the purpose of the new Ohio Company to erect tablets similar to this at Boston on the site of the Bunch of Grapes Tavern, where the Ohio Company was formed, on the college campus at Marietta, and possibly at the capitals of each one of the five States that were a part of the old Territory. On the occasion of the unveiling of this first tablet the exercises included an invocation by President Alfred Tyler Perry, of Marietta College, the presentation of the tablet to the Government by the Hon. William W. Mills, the acceptance of the same by the Hon. Hamilton Fish, and an oration by General Stewart L. Woodford. This ceremony has a special significance; it comes as another proof of a tendency to pay more attention to some of the less spectacular but intrinsically vital facts of our National growth. The history of America has not been solely a record of battles and campaigns; the secret springs of many an important measure, of more moment, as in the present case, than most battles in really shaping the destiny of a people, are to be sought in old-time counting-houses and their dusty records.

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Cuban Affairs The general election in Cuba last week resulted in a complete and sweeping victory for the Moderates—that is, the supporters of President Palma's administration. This event was certain before the election, as the political opponents of President Palma had, with some exceptions, withdrawn from the contest, following the lamentable and too common Spanish-American practice of giving up a political fight instead of contesting it to the end and then cheerfully acquiescing in the result. The elections were conducted without violence, and, so far as can be learned, without political tyranny. The oft-repeated assertions of the Radicals that President Palma has acted unfairly and arbitrarily in dealing with his political opponents have not been justified by any tangible evidence.——An event of the past week of political interest both to Cuba and the United States was the resignation of the United States Minister to Cuba, Mr. Herbert G. Squiers. The reason generally assigned for the resignation is that Mr. Squiers has taken, or has been credited with taking, an attitude in favor of the ultimate annexation of Cuba to the United States which is not acceptable or pleasing either to President Palma or to the United States Government, both of whom are earnestly and sincerely anxious that Cuba should develop politically on its own lines, and do not believe that there is any occasion at present for even discussing annexation. The particular point upon which Mr. Squiers is believed to have acted without the support and sympathy of his own Government was

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in reference to the Isle of Pines. The letter from Secretary Root to the President of the American Club of the Isle of Pines, published just before Mr. Squiers's resignation, very clearly and positively declared that this little island belongs to Cuba, and that, whether the treaty with Cuba now under discussion is adopted or not, the United States will not attempt to claim sovereignty over the Isle of Pines. Mr. Squiers is reported to have made the suggestion that if anything like revolt occurred in the Isle of Pines, the United States might be asked to land a military force, and the Cuban Government is said to have resented this suggestion as not complimentary to its dignity nor in any way called for by existing circumstances.

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Mr. Balfour Resigns

Last week marked a revival of hope in British Unionist-Conservative ranks because of the open split among the Liberals on the question of Irish Home Rule, emphasized by the speeches of Lord Rosebery and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. Nearly forty Parliamentary seats, which the Conservatives had practically considered as lost in case of an immediate election, were again looked upon as safe. The effect on the Prime Minister was also evident, and had an influence on his decision to resign. His resignation was placed in King Edward's hands on Monday of this week; and, immediately after the customary interview between the King and the Premier, the former summoned Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. Mr. Balfour can now act with more independence, and, on the one side, rally Home Rule opponents with an Irish programme of his own; on the other, rally the Conservative free-traders by not administering an overdose of tariff reform. As to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, British opinion, after assuming that he would refuse to take office if Mr. Balfour resigned without ordering the elections, is now convinced that he will accept office, form a Ministry, and appeal to the country, not with a constructive programme, not even with Home Rule for Ireland as a necessarily prominent issue, but in a campaign conducted against protection, school taxes without public control of teaching, wasteful expenditures, wrongful liquor legislation, the suffering of the unemployed, rampant militarism—as shown by Lord Kitchener's defeat of Lord Curzon in India—and, finally, the much-debated issue, Chinese labor in South Africa.

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Universal Suffrage in Austria

Last week marked an important turning-point in Austrian history. In many towns and cities throughout the Austrian half of the Empire the people demanded equal suffrage. In Vienna the demand had been timed to coincide with the opening of the Reichsrath, or Parliament. As the members took their seats, a popular procession numbering nearly two hundred thousand workmen filed past the Reichsrath building in silent, orderly array. This was doubly impressive, as disorders for the day had been freely predicted. Practically every shop in Vienna was closed and the iron shutters were down. The authorities had strong forces of police, and cavalry and infantry were also ready to maintain order. Bnt the labor leaders cleverly outmaneuvered the official guardians of peace by forbidding the workmen to cheer, sing, or shout. Hour after hour tens of thousands silently marched past with red flags and banners bearing inscriptions imperatively demanding equal, direct, and universal suffrage. Such a demand was more emphatic than any noisy demonstration could have been. From the windows of his palace the Emperor witnessed the silent defile of his Austrians demanding that which he had already offered to his Hungarians—for a few weeks ago he himself proposed universal suffrage for Hungary, in order to defeat the opposition there. Such a demonstration was never before witnessed in Vienna. When its head reached the Reichsrath building, a deputation presented a petition to the Prime Minister and to the Presidents of both Houses. All three officials were sympathetic. They declared the Reichsrath's foremost duty to be to listen to the cry for an extension of the

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suffrage which was reaching Parliament from all classes of society. Baron Gautch von Frankenthurn, the Premier, in particular, promised to lay the intentions of the Government in detail before the Reichsrath that very day, and gave the leaders of the people to understand that the project had the Government's full sympathy. It is understood that the Government's bill, which was presented as promised, abolishes the existing special suffrage privileges, and in their stead provides a clear system for determining the number of deputies returnable by the various provinces, first, on the basis of the number of inhabitants, and, second, on the total amount of taxation paid in each province. Under such a system there will be two notable results. In the first place, the number of German, Polish, Rumanian, Croatian, and Italian deputies will be somewhat diminished, while the number of Czech, Ruthenian, and Slavonian deputies will be slightly augmented. In the second place, there will be a lessening of the parliamentary protection and favoritism long secured in Austria by the wealthy at the expense of the poor. For Austria has been divided into five classes of voters. Political influence there has been exercised first of all by the landed proprietors, then by the urban dwellers, and only lastly by every Austrian male unit of society over twenty-four years of age.

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Naval, Industrial, and Agrarian Outbreaks

Last week at Sevastopol occurred a mutiny which, in Count Witte's words, may be regarded as the most serious phase of a serious situation. The Sevastopol mutiny does not belong to the same class as the recent Cronstadt mutiny or as the Odessa mutiny five months ago. Those were violent and anarchical in comparison. The Sevastopol mutiny was—at least at first—orderly and impressive. These features seem to have been due to the far-sightedness of Lieutenant Schmidt, the mutineers' leader. He made fifteen demands regarding necessary reforms in the sailors' conditions of service, and also that an immediate constituent assembly be called to accept the reforms promised in the Czar's manifesto and to draft a constitution. When these demands were not granted on the expiration of the time-limit, Lieutenant Schmidt opened fire from two vessels. Some of the forts, part of the squadron, and part of the coast artillery returned the fire. The proportion of forces remaining loyal, however, was not large enough greatly to reassure any one regarding Russia's future. The port held by Russia against all comers during a year of a famous siege could not hold out against Russian mutineers. They landed, maintained order, and respected the rights of others. Later reports indicate that military discipline again prevails and that many insurrectionists have gone back to the colors. Whether this be so or not, the affair, combined with the telegraphers' strike and the peasant unrest, sent the price of Russian consols last week down to a point lower than any quoted since the Russo-Turkish War. As to the telegraphers' strike, the threat, in case reprisals were made against them, to destroy the Government lines, seems to have been carried out in part, as little news has come from the capital since Friday of last week, and the news from Moscow reports the raging of a great incendiary conflagration there. In the opinion of some, however, neither the military nor the industrial situation is as grave as is the agrarian. Throughout the entire Empire the peasants—constituting four-fifths of the population—seem to be possessed of only one idea—more land. Moreover, the revolution which has arisen in Saratov and other famine-stricken provinces is capable of indefinite extension by the methods of revolutionary and anarchistic agitators, who shrink at nothing. Finally, even the Czar's generous concessions to the peasants, which a few weeks ago would have been gratefully accepted at their true worth, are now regarded by many only as examples of his wrongheadedness. They even call him "Little Fool" instead of "Little Father." It has been well said that the manifestoes providing for the abandonment of the peasants' redemption payments on Crown lands and the devolution of the entire land purchase system to the zemstvos, or provin-

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cial councils, form really a more generous concession than all the Irish land legislation in the British statute-books. But, coming after peasants' risings and land seizures, these concessions are naturally regarded, not as broad-minded and liberal Imperial bounty, but only as surrenders wrung from the Czar by merciless pressure.

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The Jews in Russia

There are about five million Jews in Russia. They live in Poland and in southwestern and southern Russia. Many are poor, some are beggars. But many others have thriven far more patently than have most Christian Russians, as money-lenders, brokers, peddlers, merchants, innkeepers, contractors, and in other vocations. Hence, the prejudice of the Russian Christians against the Russian Jews, having as primal causes race and religion, is doubled. As the Odessa Zionist Central Committee's manifesto says:

> The facts prove that ninety per cent. of the entire Russian population, regardless of what class or party they belong to, are more or less anti-Semitic. When one part does not itself slaughter and pillage Jews, it stands by indifferently and looks at the spectacle as if it were an opera.

At the time of the Odessa massacre the opinion was expressed in The Outlook that the revolutionaries who did the bloody work were the tools of bigoted, bureaucratic, and military reactionaries, rather than Socialists. These tools are appropriately known as "hooligans." Private letters published in the New York "Times" confirm our opinion:

> At Odessa the police, dressed in civilian clothes, massacred the Jews. . . . The church bells were ringing to rouse the hooligans. When the Jews tried to defend themselves, they were attacked by the Cossacks and artillery. Jewish girls were dishonored, children were rent in twain. . . . *On the fourth day* General Kaulbers issued a proclamation that he would shoot at the rioters—and immediately there was quiet.

At Neizhin, a town in the province of Kiev, the same conditions prevailed:

> The Chief of Police called together the people in the public square to swear fealty to the Czar. Meanwhile the Chief sent hooligans to destroy the Jewish homes. . . . Jewish property was robbed and Jewish blood was shed.

A letter from a Russian official thus defines the situation:

> There arise from the tumult of agitation three distinct political parties:
>
> 1. The Revolutionary party, which included workmen, students, a majority of the League of Leagues, Jews, and Poles, demanding a democratic republic.
>
> 2. The Constitutional party, composed of zemstvoists, the landed nobility, and the well-to-do bourgeoisie, demanding a constitutional monarchy following the lines of the German Constitution; and
>
> 3. The so-called Black Hundred, made up of the priests, office-holders, the police, army officers, and the other retainers of the monarchy, this last organization insisting that no change was necessary.
>
> Of what followed, I am writing from the blood of my heart. There is not the slightest doubt that the Jewish massacres were organized by the Black Hundred in order to avenge themselves upon the Jews and the students for their participation in the revolutionary movement. The mobs were led by police officers, sometimes in disguise, but frequently in full uniform. M., . . . who is a Lieutenant in one of the regiments stationed at Odessa, writes to me that when he begged the Colonel of his regiment for a company of troops with which to check the ruthless massacre, he was threatened with a court martial.

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The German Emperor's Attitude

Few observations on men and events excite more comment than do those of William II. Always acute and vivacious, his opinions only gain in characteristic qualities by his increasing experience with men and affairs. Even in his formal addresses there is an individuality of statement which deserves note. In his Speech from the Throne last week, at the opening of the Reichstag, the Kaiser incidentally paid a tribute to President Roosevelt. The two rulers have many personal characteristics in common:

> It fills me with high satisfaction that I was able to support the successful efforts of the President of the United States in bringing about peace between his Majesty the Emperor of Russia and his Majesty the Emperor of Japan. I greet Japan's entrance into the ranks of the Great Powers with sincere wishes for the peaceable, civilizing mission of this highly endowed people, and my lively sympathies attend the efforts which the neighboring friendly Russian Empire is making toward a new order of things in its internal affairs. I hope that his Majesty the

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Emperor Nicholas may earn the love and gratitude of his people as the pathfinder of Russia's happy future.

In addition to this definition of his attitude towards the rulers of America, Japan, and Russia, the Kaiser emphasized the necessity for increasing German naval power abroad in view of the larger trade relations with all oversea countries, spoke in detail of the naval measures, announced further social reform legislation, insisted on the necessity for augmenting the financial resources of the Empire, and expressed his expectation of an early ending of the Southwest African insurrection. In this programme social reform legislation calls for more attention than do the naval measures. William II. has a more difficult task at home than abroad. As in Russia, so in Germany, the existing order of things is menaced by the increasing influence of the Social Democrats. A keen-sighted observer like the Emperor must see that not only does Socialism flourish mightily in Germany's vast industrial population, but is now largely represented even in the army. Germany may one day witness what Russia has already witnessed in several recent instances—a reluctance on the part of the troops to fire on the crowd. Again, the agitation for universal suffrage in Russia and Austria, and the success of the agitation in the latter country, have had an inevitable influence in Germany. The Kaiser's social reform legislation, therefore, must be broad-minded and far-reaching if he would avert the doom which will ultimately crush those departments of the German Government in which autocracy still outmasters democracy.

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The Lienchau Massacre

It is a satisfaction to report that both the Chinese and the American Governments have taken prompt action regarding the recent horrible massacre of missionaries at Lienchau. An Imperial edict has been issued directing the Viceroy of the province of Kwangtung, in which Lienchau is situated, to furnish efficient protection to the missions, to punish all the guilty, and to promise full redress. The edict warns the Viceroy that he will be held responsible for any further outrages and for the safety of the missionaries. The opinion is expressed that the extreme violence which characterized the Lienchau outbreak may bring about the repression of further attacks, but the despatch from the Viceroy to Sir Chentung Liang-Cheng, the Chinese Minister at Washington, published in the daily press, is by no means to be accepted as final. Reports of Chinese officials are generally presented in such a way as to "save face." Mr. Lay is the American Consul-General at Canton. The State Department instructed him to proceed at once to Lienchau to investigate the affair. He left immediately, accompanied by Dr. Machle, the head of the Lienchau Mission, a survivor, and by several naval officers. A commission, composed of three experienced missionaries intimately acquainted with the Chinese language and Chinese characteristics, is also at Lienchau making a thorough investigation. The Rev. Dr. A. J. Brown is the Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. In his opinion, it would not be to Dr. Machle's discredit if it should prove true that the head of the Lienchau Mission took advantage of his property rights to protest against a festival platform on which there were the firing of cannon, the exploding of firecrackers, the strident music, and other distracting noises incident to a Chinese religious festival. Such a tumult would be, of course, highly injurious to the many patients crowding the two hospitals on the premises, to say nothing of the discomfort and possible danger to the missionary families from the excited crowd. The temporary platform could be removed; not so the hospitals. Such a protest, Dr. Brown continues, while perhaps sufficient to excite a personal attack upon Dr. Machle, hardly seems an adequate cause for the murder of five other people and the total destruction of the entire mission property, while Dr. Machle was unharmed. The theory that the trouble arose from a quarrel between Protestants and Roman Catholics need not be seriously discussed. In our opinion, and in Dr. Brown's, no Roman Catholic would thank the critics of Protestant missions for implying that

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Roman Catholic converts would fire cannon under the windows of two Protestant hospitals, and, when objection was made, foully murder three women, a little girl, and a man who was a total stranger to them. Finally, it seems improbable that Dr. and Mrs. Machle and Dr. Eleanor Chesnutt, who had lived long at Lienchau, thoroughly respected by the people whom they were benefiting, could have committed any overt act which would have caused such an appalling massacre. As Dr. Brown adds, if they did anything at all to excite anger, it is fair to assume that they did it either unintentionally or in circumstances that made protest necessary. But, even so, such a course on their part must have been an occasion rather than a cause. As The Outlook has already suggested, the public mind, especially in that part of China whence most of the day-laborers come, must have been inflamed against all foreigners, particularly against all Americans, independently of what the missionaries did. Thus, as Dr. Brown also believes, the missionaries' accidental and otherwise unimportant act may have brought to a crisis a situation already strained by reason of other influences.

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A Letter from China

We have received a pathetic letter written shortly before his assassination by one of the murdered missionaries at Lienchau. The letter was received in New York the very day the writer met with his death in China. It is pervaded throughout with a hopeful enthusiasm of the work in which he was about to engage. "I have come," he writes, "across so little to discourage thus far, and so much to encourage, that I have no reason to be anything but thankful that I came to China." His statement respecting the conditions of the membership of the Christian Church in the Canton Mission is an adequate answer to those who think Christian missions are doing nothing. "The additions to the Church in Canton Mission last year were 1,551. . . . In four years the additions have more than doubled." Even more conclusive is the answer given to those who imagine that the additions to the Christian Church in China are due to the desire of the Chinese converts to get something out of the Mission. "There are about six thousand communicants in this Mission, and they gave $15,000; at home we have over a million members, and they gave a million dollars. If we would do as well as the Christian Chinese, wouldn't we give nearly or over three million?" The writer's interpretation of the boycott and the cause which led to it confirms the impressions which the public reports through the press have already given:

> One of the topics that interest us most nowadays is the boycott. To you at home it is a matter so far removed that it is only interesting. To the missionaries here it is most vital. Americans have always enjoyed especial favor here with the people, and to fly the American flag meant protection. It is quite a little different now. No personal violence has been attempted, but the people are less cordial and more suspicious. There is a good feature about it—it is the first time China has ever united on a common platform. You will change your views of China quite a little, I think, when you reach it. The people here are not asking that coolies be allowed entrance into the States, but they only ask that America cease treating China with contempt and allow her merchants and students the same privileges that other foreigners enjoy. It doesn't seem unreasonable to me. Does it to you?

To this question the American public can give but one answer: the demand is reasonable, and Congress ought to provide at once for compliance with it.

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A Universal Two-Cent Postage for Letters

In the London "Times" for October 13 Mr. Henniker Heaton presents at great length the advantages of adopting his plan of universal penny postage (two cents). The charge for a letter is five times as high as for a newspaper. We already have universal halfpenny (one cent) postage for two ounces of printed matter. Moreover, the question as to whether universal penny postage for letters would succeed is met by the success of the British imperial penny postage. Since its establishment the number of British letters to and from the colonies has more than doubled. The fact that "restricted unions" exist between the United States and Canada and between Germany and Austria, by which an American, for instance, pays but two cents on a letter to the

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Dominion, only increases the irritation on the part of the English at paying 150 per cent. more for letters from Dover to Calais than from Dover to Fiji. The distance from Dover to Calais is twenty-one miles; the distance from Dover to Fiji is eleven thousand miles. Anomalies so glaring as these discrepancies cannot be matched, this critic claims, in any other department of the public service. It is doubtful, however, he adds, whether those who would maintain these unjust anomalies have realized how small is the booty at stake compared with the commercial interests imperiled.

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Forestry in Massachusetts

Under the operations of the law recently passed by the Massachusetts Legislature, that State is now giving practical aid to the owners of woodlands—a work which deserves imitation in other States. The aid consists of lectures by the State Forester or his assistants in various parts of the Commonwealth, the publication of bulletins and circulars for free distribution, and, finally, actual demonstrative work in the field. Since last January the State Forester and his chief assistant have traveled over ten thousand miles on work connected with their offices. Requests for aid from all parts of the State are now coming to them so rapidly that it is impossible fully to satisfy the demand. In nearly every instance the applicant asks, "What shall I do with my wood lot?" Now this may be a lot comprising a few acres of trees which seem to make no progress, or it may be a practically bare lot. In either case there is little if any yield. In the first case the applicant needs advice as to what to do with trees already on his lot; in the second, concerning the kind of trees to plant. In the selection of plants the State not only helps but even provides some plants at nominal cost. The chief species grown at the State Forestry Nursery is white pine; the others being spruce, white, red and swamp oak, hickory, chestnut, ash, maple, whitewood, and birch. From this nursery seedlings are distributed on condition that the applicant shall operate under a plan approved by the State Forester; of course the purpose of the Forester is to have these seedlings go to genuine landowners for permanent planting, and not to any one likely to resell them in a few years. If the aid of the Massachusetts Forestry Service is not given indiscriminately to any and all applicants, neither is it entirely free to the landowner. The cost is nominal, however, covering only the traveling and subsistence expenses of the State Forester and his assistants.

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Some Recent Plays

It cannot be said that intelligent lovers of the drama have no opportunity of seeing good plays at this time in the city of New York. Mr. Ben Greet's company has been presenting at Mendelssohn Hall a series of Shakespearean dramas, and the interest of the performance is now so widely appreciated that the audiences have been increasingly satisfactory. The acoustics of the hall for dramatic purposes are not good, and Mr. Greet has carried on his enterprise under serious difficulties, but with increasing approval on the part of the New York public. Miss Marlowe and Mr. Sothern have also been giving most interesting Shakespearean presentations; Mr. Mantell is now appearing in "King Lear;" Mr. Warfield's beautiful impersonation of "The Music-Master" continues to draw the largest audiences; a company of Russian players from St. Petersburg have been giving a series of modern dramas of the rather extreme type at a small theater at 15 East Third Street. It is difficult to characterize "Monna Vanna" as an acting play and Madame Kalisch's interpretation of it in a few words. The play is a beautiful piece of literature which deeply interests and moves the reader, though the situation is worked out in a way which blurs what might have been its moral sublimity. It deals with a situation which can be treated with much more restraint and propriety in literature than on the stage. Madame Kalisch has been serving a long apprenticeship in Yiddish theaters, and has more than a usual endowment of dramatic talent. In certain places she

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rises to a great height, and shows more than once a touch of genius. Her acting, however, is very uneven, her greatest defect being her lapse from the highest dignity in a scene in which she has been ready to make the greatest sacrifice that can be asked of a woman. From this heroic level she drops into something very like coquetry. The play is one for mature audiences, but draws, as such plays invariably do, a large attendance of young people.

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The Passing of Scientific Materialism

The utterances of that eminent physicist, Sir Oliver Lodge, and of others, his compeers in the scientific world, should by this time have rendered obsolete the old notion of conflict between science and religion. In a recent address to a club connected with the City Temple in London, as briefly reported in the Birmingham "Post," Sir Oliver undertook to give, as he said, a few keys to what might be called "the solution of the universe." These keys he named as oneness, persistence, evolution, and control. Finding a thread of unity running through the material and the vital, he said that while the Deity was not to be thought of as a part of the universe, he was not to be thought of as apart from it. Emphasizing the oneness of things, he emphasized the oneness of Deity with things, as pervading all things. He held also that whatever really existed persisted. Consequently he believed that he should carry with him from this world the memory and experience gained here. He also believed, though in this he admitted he was not scientific, that, when he should rejoin the larger self, he would find that he had a much larger memory and personality than he now possessed. In the evolutionary process nothing was fortuitous; everything was intelligently controlled. If he were asked what was the essential element of Christianity, he would say it was the divinity of man, the humanity of God. Similar affirmations by many men of high rank in science have broken the back of scientific materialism. The real conflict of religion is with the practical materialism of self-centered, self-seeking men.

The President's Message

The President's Message is mainly a repetition of principles that he has heretofore announced. If he be regarded as a campaigner, he is pressing the battle along the old lines. If he be regarded as a public teacher, he is elucidating principles which he has before inculcated. This is wise: nowhere more than in politics is the motto applicable, "Line upon line and precept upon precept." We may epitomize his Message briefly thus. He recommends:

Governmental supervision and limited regulation of the railroads.

Making Washington a model city.

Government investigation of labor conditions.

Government supervision of insurance.

Flexibility in tariff rates.

Election reform.

International peace founded on international righteousness.

Extension of the Monroe Doctrine.

Maintenance of the efficiency but not increase in size of the navy.

Improvement of naturalization laws.

Revision of the United States criminal law.

Regulation of immigration.

Complete revision of copyright laws.

Prohibition of inter-State commerce in adulterated foods.

Preservation and improvement of National parks, including Niagara.

Better schools for the Indians and their protection from the liquor traffic.

Reduction of tariff on Philippine products.

Special appropriation but no special legislation for Hawaii.

Admission of Porto Ricans to American citizenship, but no material change in present form of government.

Increased franchise privileges in our insular possessions.

Admission to Congress of a delegate from Alaska.

The Joint Statehood Bill.

Emergency appropriation for present needs to Panama Commission.

Improvement of the consular service.

A few of these recommendations we here interpret more fully.

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Railroad Rate Regulation. Our great railroad corporations are not under State control, because the State has no Constitutional power to control them; nor under Federal control, because the Federal Government has not exercised the power which it possesses. They thus "occupy the position of subjects without a sovereign." To bring them under the sovereignty of the Federal Government, though in form an innovation in substance, is merely a restoration. This Government control should not be the prohibition of all combinations, but "such adequate supervision and regulation as will prevent any restriction of competition from being to the detriment of the public." Eventually the National Government should obtain such control over the big corporations engaged in inter-State commerce as will enable it to prevent various abuses, chief of which is over-capitalization. But the first thing to do is "to secure such supervision and regulation of the rates charged by the railroads of the country engaged in inter-State traffic as shall summarily and effectively prevent the imposition of unjust or unreasonable rates." This does not involve power to initiate rates generally, but, upon complaint and after investigation, to regulate a rate already fixed by the road. The better to protect the public, "a system of examination of railroad accounts should be provided similar to that now conducted into the National banks by the bank examiners." Such regulative legislation would be in the interest, not only of the general public and of the small shipper and the small town, but equally in the interest of honest railroad men, who would thus be protected from the practices of dishonest railroads. Government regulation should also require safety appliances, especially block signals, and a limitation of the hours of labor for employees, and should provide such an employers' liability law as lies within the scope of the Federal power. Upon one point only in this branch of his Message does The Outlook disagree with the President. He says: "The best possible regulation of rates would, of course, be that regulation secured by an honest agreement among the railroads themselves to carry out the law. . . . The power vested in the Government to put a stop to agreements to the detriment of the public should, in my judgment, be accompanied by power to permit, under specified conditions and careful supervision, agreements clearly in the interest of the public." The Outlook agrees with the first sentence, but not with the second. To make all pooling agreements between railroads illegal except as specifically approved by the Commission would open the way to favoritism, if not graft, and would certainly be prolific of complaints alleging favoritism. The railroads should be not merely permitted to make occasional and exceptional combinations; they should be encouraged to combine, and so to make a uniform and harmonious rate system. Specific injustices could always be rectified by the act of the Commission, and if such combination led to any general injustice it could be corrected by general legislation. The Nation has tried the experiment of securing the public interest by unrestricted competition, and the experiment has failed; what it should now do is to substitute legal and honorable combination under Governmental supervision and control.

Election Reform. The President's recommendations on this subject will receive universal approval, except from the corruptionists. They include a law providing for severe penalties against any one who gives or receives a bribe; for the publication of all campaign expenditures; and for the prohibition of all contributions by corporations for political purposes, whether used in popular elections or in legislative lobbies. In our judgment, Congress could well go further; it could and should provide that any use of force, fraud, or corruption in any Congressional election should vitiate the election, and it could and should leave the investigation of contested elections to some judicial body, as is done in England. This policy initiated and faithfully carried out would probably in a very few years accomplish for this country what it has accomplished for England—the practically complete purification of all elections, at least of all elections under Federal control.

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Peace and War. The Outlook heartily agrees with what the President has said on this subject: with both his statement of the general principle and his special applications of it. "We can do nothing of permanent value for peace unless we keep ever clearly in mind the ethical element which lies at the root of the problem. Our aim is righteousness. Peace is normally the handmaiden of righteousness; but when peace and righteousness conflict, then a great and upright people can never for a moment hesitate to follow the path which leads toward righteousness, even though that path also leads to war." The three steps toward universal peace which the President commends are: 1. Adequate equipment for war, that the Nation may be ready for it whenever war is demanded in the name of the highest morality. 2. An endeavor to minimize the number of cases in which war must be the arbiter, and to offer through the Hague Tribunal some substitute for war which will be available in at least a considerable number of instances. 3. The general development of international morality, until the Golden Rule shall become the guiding rule of conduct among nations as among individuals.

It is in consonance with this general principle that the President urges this Government to act as a friend of the South American Republics in an endeavor to secure their prompt meeting of all just obligations, and the specific application of this principle in the case of Santo Domingo. It is also in accordance with these principles that he makes a statement which will be a surprise to those who have formed their judgment of his opinions from his critics and not from his own utterances. "It does not seem to me necessary that the navy should—at least in the immediate future—be increased beyond the present number of units. What is now clearly necessary is to substitute efficient for inefficient units as the latter become worn out or as it becomes apparent that they are useless. Probably the result would be obtained by adding a single battleship to our navy each year, the superseded or outworn vessels being laid up or broken up as they are thus replaced."

Regulation of Immigration. For the regulation of immigration and the exclusion of undesirable immigrants the President makes the following suggestions: 1. Adequate provision for the distribution of the immigrants. 2. Prohibition of all immigration from Canada and Mexico save natives of the two countries themselves. 3. Means to compel the steamship companies to observe the law which forbids them to solicit immigration to the United States, and a sharp limitation on the number of immigrants in ratio to the tonnage which each vessel can carry. 4. An international conference to deal with the question of immigration. 5. More rigid inspection of immigrants in the countries from which they come. These principles should be applied in dealing with Chinese immigration. It is legitimate to keep out Chinese laborers, for the reason that they are "undesirable immigrants to this country because of their numbers, the low wages for which they work, and their low standard of living." But it is only the Chinese *laborers* who are undesirable. Other Chinamen—students, merchants, professional men, and the like—should be "encouraged" to come here, and "our laws and treaties should be framed, not so as to put these people in the excepted classes, but to state that we will admit all Chinese except Chinese of the coolie class, Chinese skilled or unskilled laborers." Examinations should be completed at the port of departure from China. We have no right to claim the open door in China unless we do equity to the Chinese.

The Tariff. The President's recommendation respecting the tariff will not satisfy the tariff reformers. It is not sufficiently radical to satisfy us. This may be because the President is not to any great extent a tariff reformer; it may be because he has one battle on his hands in which he is opposed by the old war-horses of the Republican party, and he does not think it wise to fight two battles at once; it may be because he simply approves of President McKinley's policy of reciprocity, and despairs of getting it by means of special reciprocity treaties. His suggestion is certainly very mild: "It should be considered

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whether it is not desirable that the tariff laws should provide for applying as against or in favor of any other nation maximum and minimum tariff rates established by the Congress, so as to secure a certain reciprocity of treatment between other nations and ourselves."

The importance of this Message as an educational document leads us to renew the suggestion which we have several times made, that Congress provide a system by which documents of such importance could be distributed through the post-offices, a small charge being made for each copy so as to prevent a useless distribution to those who would never read them. We believe that such a policy would operate beneficially in two ways—it would reduce the number of public documents printed, and would increase the number of documents read. The experiment at least might be tried with the President's Messages, and the extension of the method be left dependent upon the results of such experiment.

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Inauguration Day

The Governors of forty-four States and Territories, together with fifteen residents of the District of Columbia, have recommended to Congress the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution changing the date of the inauguration of the President of the United States from the fourth of March to the last Thursday in April. This is the result of an agitation carried on by a Committee formed for the purpose three years ago. The Committee, which met last week and announced unanimously their recommendation, agreed not to suggest any change in the time of the assembling of Congress.

The Governors are right in desiring to change the inauguration day; the season is inopportune and the out-of-door ceremonies have cost the Nation some valuable lives. But Congress ought to bring the election of the President and his inauguration nearer together. The proposal of the Governors would put them further apart. At present four months elapse after the people have elected a President before he enters upon his duties. For those four months the country does not know what the new administration is to be; business interests are injuriously affected by the uncertainty; thousands of office-holders do not know whether they are to go out or to remain in; heads of departments cannot push forward old policies nor inaugurate new ones. Once in our history this period of delay involved a very serious peril to the country. Probably nothing could have prevented civil war. But certainly the Nation would have been far better able to cope with the first assault upon it if there had not been four months of National irresolution, in which agitators could develop the secession sentiment in the South, secession leaders could organize for open war, and real, not merely nominal, traitors could avail themselves of their official position in the Federal Government to weaken its forces and strengthen those of its enemy. The peril of such an interregnum should be lessened by diminishing the interregnum, not increased by lengthening it; the inconveniences of such an interregnum should be prevented, not aggravated.

The anomaly in the case of Congress is even greater. A new Congress is elected in November; it does not convene until December of the following year. Thirteen months after the people have registered their will are allowed to elapse before the body which they have elected is organized. In the interim Congress is not a representative body but a misrepresentative body.

The Congress elected in November should assemble in the following December, not in the year following—that is, one month, not thirteen months, after the election. The inauguration of the President might well take place on that date. It certainly should take place not later than the first of January. With the present facilities for counting the ballots, the telegraphic facilities for reporting them, and transportation facilities for travel from every part of the country to the National capital, there is little reason why it should take more than four weeks, there is no reason why it should take more than

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eight weeks, to do all that needs to be done between the election and the inauguration of the President.

It is true that December and January are no better months for outdoor ceremonies than March. But the gratification of ten thousand people attending a gala occasion in Washington ought not to weigh for a moment against the safety of the country and the business interests of its seventy million inhabitants. It would do no harm if the President took his oath of office quietly in the Senate Chamber, in the presence simply of the two houses of Congress and the Justices of the Supreme Court. But if we must have this simple scene witnessed by ten thousand people, the country can easily afford to erect a building large enough for that purpose, and it might easily be utilized for other great assemblages whenever occasion required.

It would certainly be an added inconvenience, and it might easily involve an added peril, if the Congress were to accept the advice of the Governors, and, for the sake of increasing the facilities for a National picnic, increase the already too great interregnum between the registration of the people's will and the first steps toward compliance with it.

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The Cure of Football

The defenders of football are in danger of being drawn into an indefensible position. The outcry against the game is not to be stilled by any statements showing the small percentage of deaths and permanent injuries. Serious objection to football is not based on its mishaps; if it were, it might be met by arguments regarding mishaps, or by enacting rules to make the game safer, or, as a last resort, by abolishing the game utterly. The really serious objection is based upon the spirit in which football is too frequently played. It is true that the injuries and deaths which have been reported in an unprecedented number this year have a bearing on the case; they have been accepted as evidence that the essential element of personal encounter in the game has been befouled by trickery and brutality. The root of the evil lies in the bitterness, the subterfuge, and the lust for triumph at any cost which have surrounded the game. This root is not of a year's or a decade's growth. In 1889 the intercollegiate association which till then controlled football was broken up because of the same evils against which protest is made this year, although the game was then in many important particulars different from that which is now played in American colleges. The wrongness for which people are demanding a cure is a wrongness, not of form, but of spirit.

To expect college undergraduates to propose and apply a remedy is unfair. This is a matter not merely of individual ethical standards, but of an ethical atmosphere in the college. It is a matter not merely of individual ethics, but of social ethics. It cannot be operative apart from the weight of college public opinion. The soundness of such public opinion ought not to be left to depend upon the undergraduates alone. College authorities do not let undergraduates determine the scholarship standards of the college. Neither have they any right to let undergraduates determine the ethical standards of the college. They do this, however, if they take no part in determining the public opinion of the college as to what constitutes good sportsmanship. A sound ethical tradition, like a sound scholarly tradition, can be maintained only by the permanent element in the college, composed of its teachers and governing boards. The dons of Cambridge and Oxford maintain such a tradition of good sport; consequently sport in the English universities is clean. The credit is due, not to the English people as a whole, but to the university authorities. When American college athletics is compared with the English, it is to the discredit, not of Americans as a body, but of American college authorities.

Unfortunately, it is easy for the American college professor or instructor to assume an attitude of intellectual snobbishness or of practical antagonism. The snobbish attitude has been displayed, for instance, by a Harvard graduate who has attempted to identify this attitude

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with the spirit of his university by ironically asking, "Why compare standards of scholarship, or the roll of distinguished scholars of Harvard and Yale, when at the boat race or football game Yale met Harvard as an equal?" Of course such a writer represents, not his university, but the academic snobs that exist in every college. The attitude of antagonism has been expressed at Columbia by the abolition of football by a faculty committee, which leads the "Columbia Spectator," published by undergraduates, to say that the undergraduates have learned not to expect the faculty to pay any heed to student opinion. At present college authorities are divided among those who are generally indifferent to the social life of the student body, either affecting a superiority to its ambitions or indulging in occasional decrees of prohibition; those who act as apologists for undergraduate action as against the outside public; and the very few who are quietly, but as yet not very effectively, attempting to guide and direct college public opinion. It is this last small group of men that ought to have the support of all who are anxious that our colleges should be not only institutions of learning, but also cultivators of social morality.

It is idle to talk about the abolition of football. Trickery and brutality did not originate with the game and will not be abolished with it. It is not idle, however, to say that the spirit which has been exemplified in football needs to be exorcised. It will be, not by affectation of superiority to athletic affairs, nor by antagonism or indifference to undergraduate social life, not by apologies for athletic abuses, nor even by the formulation of new rules for the game. There is a reasonable demand for such a reconstruction of the game that it will be more difficult for dirty playing to pass undetected. A revision of the rules ought to be at once undertaken by football experts, for the purpose of discouraging the activities of the evil spirit. But that evil spirit itself will be exorcised only by the cultivation of honor in place of trickery, and in place of brutality the habit of chivalry. The injuries which have been sustained on the "gridiron" this year cannot be disregarded; they are symptoms of a disease; but the disease is curable. Undergraduate opinion is fundamentally sound. It will not respond to indifference, suppression, or apology; but it will respond to direction.

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America's Debt to Israel

The two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the landing of Jews upon this continent affords a fitting text to suggest the debt that America owes to Israel. If that debt were more generally recognized by Gentiles, they would accord to their Hebrew brethren a more patient and generous treatment; if it were more generally realized by the Jews, they would find in it inspiration to higher national and social ideals.

Whether the Hebrew Commonwealth ever existed in reality, or was only a literary ideal, like More's "Utopia," or was, as we think more probable, such an ideal very imperfectly realized, may be debated. But there can be no doubt what that ideal was, and none that it has given both model and inspiration to subsequent generations. In that Hebrew Commonwealth government was not lodged in one autocrat with indiscriminated power, but distributed in three departments—legislative, judicial, and executive; the legislative function was performed by two representative bodies, a senate and a house of representatives; the monarch was hedged about by constitutional limitations which in the worst period of Hebrew history were not wholly ineffective; there was neither landed, military, nor priestly aristocracy; in so far as such aristocracies grew up in time, they were corruptions of the prophetic ideal; the priesthood were dependent on the voluntary contributions of the people, and therefore could not, and in fact did not, become their masters; industry was honored and the profession of arms was discouraged; the authority of government rested, not on armed force, but on the authority of God speaking in the conscience, and equally authoritative over all classes; slavery and polygamy, though not forbidden, were so hedged

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about with restrictions that both disappeared from Israel before the first century of the Christian era; the germs of an educational system were sown and a desire for knowledge was so developed that at the beginning of the Christian era every synagogue had its school for the children of the common people—the only provision of any kind for popular education in all the Roman Empire; and, finally, the essential principles of the political and social order were summed up in a code as simple as it was comprehensive, and without a parallel in the codes of the world's history. Those principles, as embodied in the Ten Commandments, which constituted the fundamental law of Israel, were: Reverence for God; respect for parents; the preservation of one day in seven from the drudgery of toil for rest and the higher life; regard for the four most fundamental rights of man, his right to life, property, reputation, and the family, and this regard spontaneously rendered. With these features of a free State was a religion which enshrined in the holy place of its temple no image, but the Law and the Mercy-seat; that is, a religion that said to its votaries, Reverence in your unseen God these two highest attributes, as they are interpreted to you in human experience—justice and mercy.

It is not necessary here to consider whether those scholars are correct who trace the excellencies of the Roman law back through the Greeks to the Hebrew people. It is certain that Alfred the Great found in the Hebrew writings the principles which he made the foundation of the English Constitution; that those principles were inculcated and impressed by the Reformers on their followers, with an insistence which made the Reformation a political as well as an ecclesiastical emancipation; and that from the same fountain source the Puritans drew the political ideals which animated them in their campaigns against the Stuarts, and which they transplanted across the sea to incorporate in the Constitution of the American Republic. If we did but know it, every legislative hall, every court-house, every public school room, every Christian church, to say nothing of less visible and tangible manifestations of our National life and temper, are monuments of our indebtedness to this ancient people.

Ideals which the Hebrew prophets gave to the world other peoples have taken up, appreciated, and have done something to realize. Whether it is Israel's fault or Israel's misfortune, or both, she has suffered them to pass out of her national consciousness. She needs nothing so much as prophets filled with something of this old idealism, to summon her to renew her youth by substituting the spiritual ideals which her sacred books put before her for the sordid ideals of a commercial age which she has, alas! made her own. Christians would do well to make this anniversary an occasion to revise their harsh judgments of their Jewish brethren, by reflecting on the debt which Christendom owes to Israel; and Jews could celebrate that anniversary in no way so well as by a noble resolve to revive and illustrate in this free Republic and this twentieth century the spiritual faith and hope of their ancestors.

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The Russians and a Constitution

There are two reasons why Russia is without a constitution: the generally autocratic personal character of the rulers; and the unpreparedness of the people.

Neither of these reasons obtains to-day as in the past. As to the first reason, Nicholas II. has finally shorn himself of enough of his autocracy to grant to his subjects a few elemental political rights, and in the Duma an advisory but by no means a Constituent, or constitution making, Assembly. As to the second reason, the Russians, though still unprepared, are far better equipped than ever before, so much so as to make the ruler no longer the chief factor in the situation. His place has been taken by the people as sovereign.

It is true that the political fitness of nineteen-twentieths of Russia's nearly one hundred and forty million population does not warrant universal suffrage,

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because of the lack of education. This was distinctly recognized in that now historic zemstvo, or provincial council, of the province of Tver, years ago, which declared that the first of all causes for the spread of socially destructive ideas was the lack of general education, secondary causes being found in the lack of freedom of speech and of the press, the lack of respect for the law, and the restrictions imposed on the zemstvos. The Tver zemstvoists closed their address to the Czar by a direct demand for a constitution. They were not unmindful of the fact that, through the effort of Russia herself, the principality of Bulgaria had just received a constitution, which included both universal suffrage and a unicameral parliament. At that time, educationally, Bulgaria was on a par with Russia. But the broad democratic basis of the Bulgarian constitution has proven valuable as a means of promoting political education and enlightenment. This history may repeat itself in Russia.

Added to the Russians' unpreparedness to strike for constitutional liberty because of the lack of general education is their unpreparedness because the constitutionalists have not been sufficiently numerous, courageous, sober, or well organized. They are measurably so to-day. The Russian Constitutional party was born when it became necessary for men to protest against the possession of serfs by the agrarian landlords. The party spread, first among the leaders of local government and among the zemstvoists, then among the members of the liberal professions, finally even among many State officials. It may surprise some to know that any Russian officials are Liberals. The Government's note to them last week, however, ought to be sufficient evidence of their existence. Thousands of them have pledged themselves to contribute a certain percentage of their incomes until the agitation for a Constituent Assembly realizes its aim. But the main strength of the Russian Constitutionalists comes from what the French call the bourgeoisie, the tolerably well-educated and well-to-do middle urban class. Now, the Russian bourgeoisie in general has not been educated or wealthy; it has not even been numerous, because Russia's urban population is proportionately less than in other countries. The proportion between city and country population in Russia, however, has changed somewhat; in the cities there is some increase in education and even more in wealth. Most of all, there has been an increase in the spirit of nationality and independence. Hence the Constitutionalists, numbering all the Moderates or Liberals, and many more, are to-day numerous, and, by the zemstvos, even well organized enough to count as nothing else has yet counted in Russia. Among political divisions the Constitutionalists form the only sane and sober party, and they have acted with the courage of conviction. As has already been shown in these columns, their work during the past twelve months has been the impelling force behind the Czar's political and educational reform manifestoes. Thus the Constitutionalists form the great middle party of the three roughly defined political divisions of Russia—reactionaries, Liberals, revolutionaries. The first represents autocracy; the second, constitutional government; the third, license. The first has ruled the land for centuries. The second for the first time in Russian history now has a chance. In that chance lies the country's salvation. Woe be to the nation if the third party gain the upper hand! Russia's last state would then be worse than her first, despite the fact that the best of the revolutionaries, such as Stepniak, for instance, have said: "We all understand quite well that in contemporary Russia political liberty can be obtained only in the form of a constitutional monarchy."

If any one man realizes this, that man should be Count Witte, Russia's first Premier. Yet he hesitates to use the only weapons against revolution. Either hesitation or merely passive resistance on the Government's part is fatal. It can no longer deal with the situation merely by hoping that the unrest will subside so that reforms already promised may be realized in an orderly way. If the Czar would uphold his dignity, he must be aggressive, not passive. He can be aggressive in two ways:

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he can proclaim a military dictatorship; he can proclaim a constitution—either a ready-made document or a call for the immediate meeting of a Constituent Assembly to frame one. The still powerful court, army, and bureaucratic circle would welcome the dictatorship. Thinking Russia clamors for the Constitution; indeed, that widely read journal, the "Novoe Vremya," last week declared it to be the only possible hope of rallying the sentiment of the Moderates and Liberals to the Government's permanent support. Will Count Witte grasp the truth of this before it is too late? Will his foresight guide the Russian revolution along normal channels? To do this he needs *now* to side with the people in their demand for a Magna Charta. Or, by his neglect, must revolution overrun all boundaries and become the instrument of those who destroy, not build up, society? Instead of, a fortnight ago, saying, as reported, "If one man rises in the Duma and demands a Constituent Assembly, I will back him," why does he not put himself at the head of those who *now* demand such an Assembly?—for who knows whether he will be Premier when the Duma convenes? Count Witte says: "By orderly elections, choose an orderly Duma, and a constitution will ultimately come." The people say: "Give us a constitution *now*, and orderliness will come."

Count Witte has prevailed with the Czar. If he has sufficient human sympathy with the people, and sincerity in his dealings with them and the Crown, he may yet prevail with both. One promise from him of strenuous effort for a constitution might have prevented some of the carnage at Sevastopol last week. Such violence has now given plausibility to the arguments of the reactionaries and of those who hold that Russia is not ripe enough for a constitution. Yet the Sevastopol mutineers' demands coincide exactly with the conditions imposed on Count Witte by the Zemstvo Congress, a fortnight ago, as the price of its support; namely, the immediate fulfillment of the promises embodied in the Czar's manifesto of October 30, and the promise of an immediate constitution. The second promise is necessary to the first. The zemstvoists knew that they could not trust the concession of a vacillating Czar unless they held the strings of the public purse. Did not the English fight Charles I. on this very question?

It is not too late for Count Witte to demand an immediate written Russian constitution. Has he the conviction necessary? And if so, has he the courage? As perhaps never before in human history, a nation's political fate seems to lie in the hands of a man who should be able to prevail with both monarch and people, Russia's first premier. May he prove equal to his opportunity!

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The Spectator

The Spectator went to Chautauqua a while ago. He witnessed that curious and unique pageant known as "Recognition Day," and it captivated him. Chautauqua, to the uninitiated, is first a bewilderment, then a marvel, then a vision of unseen forces at work in the world. The Spectator slept in a comfortable hotel—not as of old, in "tents and purposes." But a stroll around the summer city let him into the secret of other forms of housekeeping. Up on the breezy "overlook," with a matchless view across the athletic field to the blue lake and soft rolling hills on the other shore, he found a genial household of kindergartners from a Southern city. They were off here for an outing through the generosity of a friend, who places this charming house at the disposal of friends from the City Settlement. In an old-fashioned tent in another quarter he came upon a minister and his household to the third generation. They had slipped away from their quiet country village ten miles distant, and here for a few weeks were enjoying an intellectual awakening to last them for a year. A stone's throw distant were the missionary houses—Baptist, Presbyterian, Congregational, Disciples, and more—for Chautauqua knows no sectarianism, and fosters the true fraternity of the Church Universal.

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One morning the Spectator set out for a visit to the gymnasium, but his foot-

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steps were easily diverted to the Boys' Club, as a crowd of three hundred wriggling, writhing, wrestling, yelling urchins burst forth from the door of the Club-House. A cheerful young cicerone offered to show him around. His blue sweater was adorned with the Club letters "C. B. C.," and he saw everything with the rose color of youth upon it. The white tents of the camp which glistened just across the lake suggested nightly experiences averred to be "out of sight," with a picnic supper and sleeping under the bright stars as the programme. A glimpse of the ball nine practicing called forth discriminating comments upon the adversary, a neighboring Young Men's Christian Association, which was to be vanquished on Saturday. "The Nature Study kids," was the guide's response to a question as to the identity of a squad heading for the woods, and the resonant sounds of saw and hammer from an upper floor showed where the manual training section were at work. A peep into the gymnasium revealed a kaleidoscope of legs and arms on parallel bars, rings, and other apparatus; then, as the guide departed, with a friendly hand-shake, for his morning swim, the Spectator lingered for a chat with two of the group of fine college fellows who are in charge of this splendid Chautauqua training-ground for the American boy.

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As the Spectator wandered up the hill he passed the Girls' Club, where basket-ball and cooking and basket-weaving seemed to be in progress. A short tramp under the magnificent trees of a primeval forest brought him out into the open, where a rocky fountain threw its glistening spray into the air and several wee youths were sailing boats. A white building with the singular sign "Alumni Hall" attracted him and brought back a suggestion of the college thrill. The Spectator hailed a passer-by and asked for an explanation. "The Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle Club-House," explained his companion, who proved to be a young Unitarian minister from New England. "Come over with me and meet the new Class of 1909," he added, with such contagious good cheer that the Spectator followed, greatly wondering. He was courteously ushered into a simply furnished room, to all appearances a fraternity headquarters, for banners and mottoes were much in evidence. "We are all new Chautauquans," explained a friendly Southerner to whom he was introduced, "but we are tremendously interested in our class and are already quite devoted to our name and motto, 'Dante,' for we are to study Italy this year, with 'On and fear not' for our rallying cry." The Spectator dropped into a chair and regarded the business of the hour with interest. His compatriots were men and women seemingly of all ages and walks of life, and, as the discussion revealed, hailing from every State of the Union. A banner for the class was under consideration, and the "college spirit" cropped out in surprising fashion for such a new body of students. This Class of 1909 actually had to be restrained from contributing too largely to a banner fund, for, as their president explained, "You know our class will number several thousand members before the first of December, and we ought to give others a chance to have a share in their banner." What did it all mean? The Spectator walked down to the Administration building, determined to get to the bottom of the Chautauqua idea. Good fortune brought him face to face with Chautauqua's famous Chancellor, Bishop Vincent, and a half-hour of talk left him under the spell of that Chautauqua spirit which has reached around the world—"the college outlook"—a four years' course for out-of-school people; the notion that mature men and women under wise direction may broaden their vision, brighten their lives, and develop power, that fathers and mothers may know something of the college world and keep in sympathy with their college boys and girls, and young people as well as older ones deprived of educational opportunity may do much to make good the deficiency.

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The sun dawned bright upon "Recognition Day," and the Spectator wandered through the pleasant grounds and on

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up to the Hall of Philosophy—a classic building suggestive of a Greek temple—which seemed the center of attraction. He found the Hall empty, "roped off," and a friendly guard of Chautauqua graduates keeping the eager crowd from pressing in. He was fortunate in coming under the protection of one of the "staff," and passed into the inclosure. Presently the Chancellor, Board of Trustees, and other officers appeared, and with them the Recognition Day speaker. The graduating class of 1905 had the honor of Miss Jane Addams's presence for this occasion. The little group of officers stood at the head of the broad stairway leading down into a grove of noble old trees; and then, through a gateway and under evergreen arches and between rows of tiny white-robed maidens scattering flowers, while the choir of a hundred voices sang "Sing Pæans over the Past," came the graduates of 1905, one hundred and fifty strong, the Chautauqua representatives of the class at large, most of whom must graduate at home. The "Robert Browning" Class they had called themselves four years ago, and by their motto, "A man's reach should exceed his grasp," they had conquered. The Spectator felt a strange stirring of his sympathies as he scanned this body of "graduates"—the oldest a man who had passed his fourscore years, the youngest that bright-faced girl, possibly a teacher just on the threshold of a career. The beautiful responsive service, beginning "Whence, then, cometh wisdom?" and followed by the official "Recognition" by the Chancellor, became deeply impressive as the Spectator looked upon that Class of 1905, and his mind traveled off to the lonely Western ranches, the mountain farms of New England, the little villages and the hurrying cities North and South, all of which have contributed to the ranks of Chautauqua graduates, and made the great Reading Circle, whose influence in twenty-seven years has reached half a million people, what President Roosevelt once called it—"the most American thing in America." Then he came back to the scene before him. He looked out upon the audience of four or five hundred graduates and undergraduates from '82 to '09 which surrounded the graduating class and filled every inch of the Hall of Philosophy, and then still further, beyond the pillars of the Hall, at the larger multitude, representatives of the great outside world gradually to be won for the "college outlook."

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The Spectator pondered upon the significance of this "recognition," which later in the day was followed by the conferring of diplomas. He had the curiosity to examine one of these certificates, remembering his own Latin document which he had never found time to read! These graduates, he perceived, from the plain Anglo-Saxon wording of the diploma, had completed the four years' course of reading prescribed by the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle. "And you have passed all the examinations?" he inquired of the gentle lady from Tennessee whose parchment he had been privileged to see. "We have no examinations," she responded, brightly. "It would frighten a good many people away; but review questions are sent to us, and if we answer them we receive seals." She indicated a row of officially stamped decorations at the bottom of the diploma. "These mean that I have written out answers to one hundred questions each year for the four years. I had to sit up nights to do it," she laughed. Then she added, as she rolled up the certificate, "My five boys and girls will be so eager to see it."

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As the Spectator strolled down toward the lake shore he chatted with a graduate from Alabama. "I belong to a race of missionaries," she said, "and this fall I am going to China. "I should have started last spring if it had not been for Chautauqua. But I wanted the memory of this Recognition Day to take with me. You don't know how much it means to us." The Spectator realized that he was outside the pale of the elect; but, as he stood beside the quiet lake watching the ever-widening circles on its surface, he murmured to himself, "It really is 'the most American thing in America.'"

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Good Ballot Laws and Bad

By William B. Shaw

BALLOT reform is again a living issue in New York, and is likely to assume a new significance in other States. The elections of 1905 showed the New York voter just what the difficulties are, with the present official ballot, in voting a split ticket. It was found that the ballot served the purposes of the party managers, who wished to discourage independent voting, as perfectly as if it had been devised with those very purposes in view. Jerome's triumph in spite of the 13,000 votes cast for Flammer, apparently in fear lest a vote for Jerome would somehow imperil the names in the Republican column on the ballot, was a victory won against great odds, and it is not too much to say that the form of the official ballot itself told powerfully against him in the contest, in so far as voters were thrown into confusion and doubt regarding the legal method of indicating their choice. That this enforced discrimination against an independent candidacy was at once so generally recognized by thousands to whom it was brought home for the first time is the one fact that should encourage the friends of ballot reform in their campaign for an amendment of the law.

In 1889 and 1890, when the Australian ballot was up for discussion, with a view to adoption, in many of the States, much was claimed for it on behalf of the independent voter. It was thought that at last the bolter of nominations, the "scratcher" of "regular" tickets, was to come to his own. If the new ballot could have been kept in the form in which it was brought to us from Great Britain's colonial governments, it would undoubtedly have contributed materially to the success of independent movements; for candidates would have been placed by it on an absolute equality and there would have been no discrimination against any set of voters. But this was not to be. The ballot-law agitation of the early '90's sprang from a rapid and widespread growth and maturing of public sentiment. In some respects it was one of the most remarkable legislative movements of recent times; but as it developed and spread from State to State an opposition gradually crystallized, and by the time the legislatures were ready to act it was often found that the only bill which could get through the committees was a compromise measure, of which an invariable feature was the substitution of the party grouping of candidates' names [1] for the alphabetic grouping under offices in accordance with the original Australian system. This concession was usually made by the advocates of the new ballot only when it appeared that without it no bill whatever could be passed. The hope may have been cherished that, with the principle of secrecy (which was thought to be the prime desideratum) once fully established, the proper grouping of names might be secured later, through amendments. The tendency of legislation, however, has been in the opposite direction. Several States which began with the pure Australian system have since adopted the party grouping. Rhode Island made such a change only last winter.

The five States which retain the grouping of names according to offices are Massachusetts, Maryland, Minnesota, Nevada, and Oregon. The New York "Evening Post" has pointed out that in several of those States—notably in Massachusetts, Minnesota, and Oregon—the percentage of independent voting in recent years has been very high. Last year in Massachusetts the independent vote was estimated at nearly fourteen per cent. of the total; in Minnesota, at over twenty per cent.; and in Oregon, in 1902, at over eleven per cent. In those States the form of ballot used makes it as easy to vote a split ticket as to vote "straight," but no easier; while

[1] The printing of the party emblem at the head of the column is, of course, nothing more nor less than a concession to the illiterate voter.

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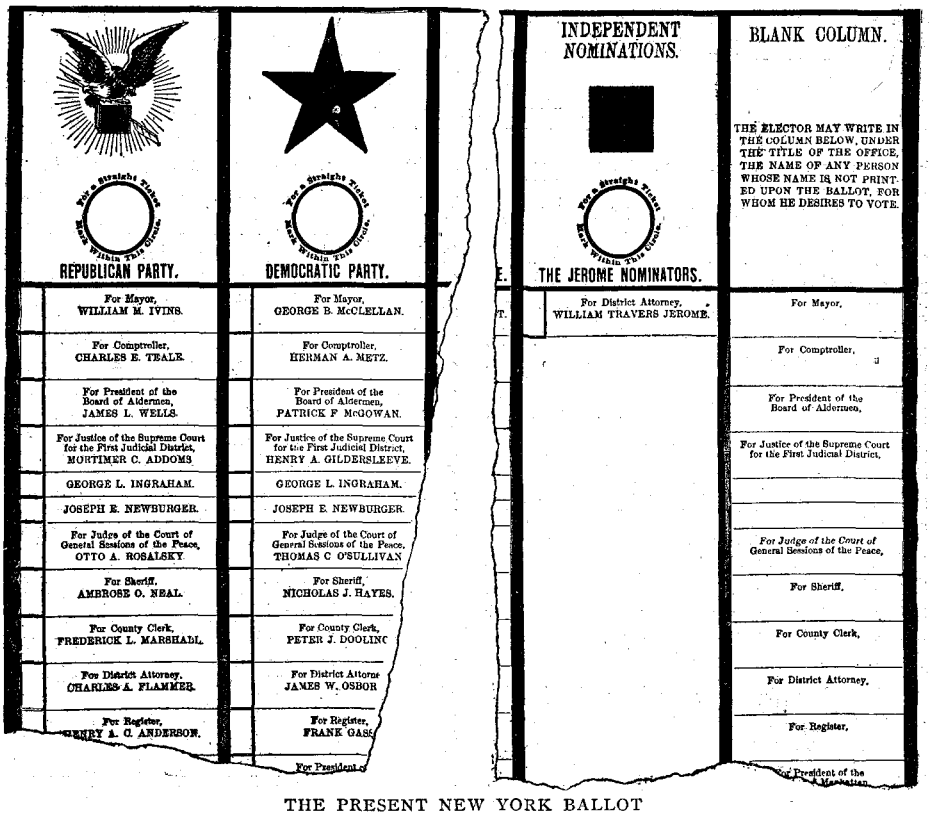
REPUBLICAN PARTY.
DEMOCRATIC PARTY.
INDEPENDENT NOMINATIONS.
BLANK COLUMN.
THE ELECTOR MAY WRITE IN THE COLUMN BELOW, UNDER THE TITLE OF THE OFFICE, THE NAME OF ANY PERSON WHOSE NAME IS NOT PRINTED UPON THE BALLOT, FOR WHOM HE DESIRES TO VOTE.
THE JEROME NOMINATORS.
For Mayor, WILLIAM M. IVINS.
For Mayor, GEORGE B. McCLELLAN.
For Mayor,
For Comptroller, CHARLES E. TEALE.
For Comptroller, HERMAN A. METZ.
For Comptroller,
For President of the Board of Aldermen, JAMES L. WELLS.
For President of the Board of Aldermen, PATRICK F. McGOWAN.
For President of the Board of Aldermen,
For Justice of the Supreme Court for the First Judicial District, MORTIMER C. ADDOMS.
For Justice of the Supreme Court for the First Judicial District, HENRY A. GILDERSLEEVE.
For Justice of the Supreme Court for the First Judicial District,
GEORGE L. INGRAHAM.
GEORGE L. INGRAHAM.
JOSEPH E. NEWBURGER.
JOSEPH E. NEWBURGER.
For Judge of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, OTTO A. ROSALSKY.
For Judge of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, THOMAS C. O'SULLIVAN.
For Judge of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace,
For Sheriff, AMBROSE O. NEAL.
For Sheriff, NICHOLAS J. HAYES.
For Sheriff,
For County Clerk, FREDERICK L. MARSHALL.
For County Clerk, PETER J. DOOLING.
For County Clerk,
For District Attorney, CHARLES A. FLAMMER.
For District Attorney, JAMES W. OSBOR
For District Attorney,
For Register, HENRY A. C. ANDERSON.
For Register, FRANK GASS
For Register,
For President of
For President of the Manhattan
For District Attorney, WILLIAM TRAVERS JEROME.

THE PRESENT NEW YORK BALLOT

The distinctive feature of this ballot, and the one most criticised, is the circle at the head of the party column, allowing the voter to vote a straight ticket for all the candidates of one party by making one mark, and making it a difficult and intricate matter to vote a "split" ticket. The following complicated instructions are printed at the top of each ballot:

This ballot should be marked in one of two ways with a pencil having black lead.
To vote a straight ticket, make a cross (×) mark within the circle above one of the party columns.
To vote a split ticket, that is, for candidates of different parties, the voter should make a cross (×) mark before the name of each candidate for whom he votes.
If the ticket marked in the circle for a straight ticket does not contain the names of candidates for all offices for which the elector may vote, he may vote for candidates for such offices so omitted by making a cross (×) mark before the names of candidates for such offices on another ticket, or by writing the names, if they are not printed upon the ballot, in the blank column under the title of the office.
To vote for a person not on the ballot, write the name of such person, under the title of the office, in the blank column.
Any other mark than the cross (×) mark used for the purpose of voting, or any erasure made on this ballot, makes it void, and no vote can be counted hereon.
If you tear, or deface, or wrongly mark this ballot, return it and obtain another.

the New York ballot opposes serious obstacles to the voting of split tickets. These obstacles, it is true, can be overcome, and in fact they are swept aside by such movements as those that elected Jerome in New York and Folk in Missouri; but the difficulties are such that only real emergencies will move great masses of voters to rise superior to them. In the "off years" there is little discriminating judgment exercised between the minor candidates. The merit of the Massachusetts ballot is that it compels some consideration, at least, of every candidate's name.

But while we are considering the improvement of the ballot we should not forget that the very thing we are striving to reform was won by our ancestors against bitter opposition. England, indeed, cannot be said to have been the home of the ballot. Some of the English colonies in America used the ballot very early in their history; but it has been contended, with some show of reason, that the colonial ballot had a Dutch derivation rather than an English. At any rate, England herself was perhaps the latest constitutional government to make use of the "voting-paper" in popular elections. We mistakenly assume that the ballot was always a concomitant of the suffrage, but we should not overlook the facts that the provision

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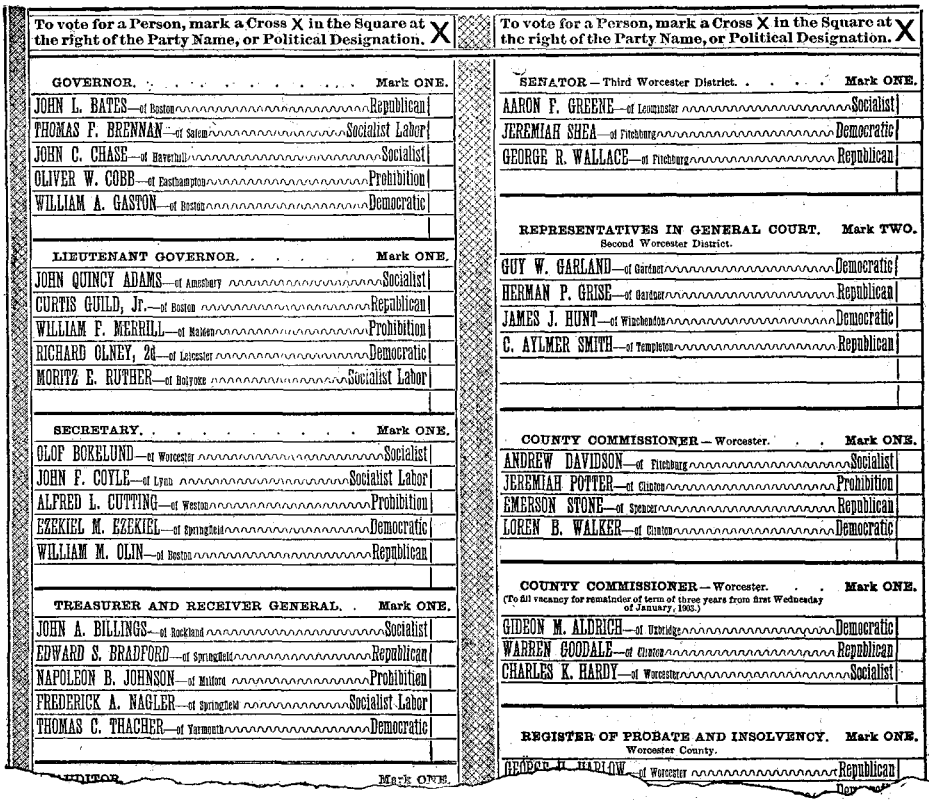

To vote for a Person, mark a Cross X in the Square at the right of the Party Name, or Political Designation. X

GOVERNOR. . . . . Mark ONE.
JOHN L. BATES—of Boston — Republican
THOMAS F. BRENNAN—of Salem — Socialist Labor
JOHN C. CHASE—of Haverhill — Socialist
OLIVER W. COBB—of Easthampton — Prohibition
WILLIAM A. GASTON—of Boston — Democratic

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR. . . . . Mark ONE.
JOHN QUINCY ADAMS—of Amesbury — Socialist
CURTIS GUILD, Jr.—of Boston — Republican
WILLIAM F. MERRILL—of Malden — Prohibition
RICHARD OLNEY, 2d—of Leicester — Democratic
MORITZ E. RUTHER—of Holyoke — Socialist Labor

SECRETARY. . . . . Mark ONE.
OLOF BOKELUND—of Worcester — Socialist
JOHN F. COYLE—of Lynn — Socialist Labor
ALFRED L. CUTTING—of Weston — Prohibition
EZEKIEL M. EZEKIEL—of Springfield — Democratic
WILLIAM M. OLIN—of Boston — Republican

TREASURER AND RECEIVER GENERAL. . Mark ONE.
JOHN A. BILLINGS—of Rockland — Socialist
EDWARD S. BRADFORD—of Springfield — Republican
NAPOLEON B. JOHNSON—of Milford — Prohibition
FREDERICK A. NAGLER—of Springfield — Socialist Labor
THOMAS C. THACHER—of Yarmouth — Democratic

AUDITOR. Mark ONE.

To vote for a Person, mark a Cross X in the Square at the right of the Party Name, or Political Designation. X

SENATOR—Third Worcester District. . . . . Mark ONE.
AARON F. GREENE—of Leominster — Socialist
JEREMIAH SHEA—of Fitchburg — Democratic
GEORGE R. WALLACE—of Fitchburg — Republican

REPRESENTATIVES IN GENERAL COURT. Mark TWO.
Second Worcester District.
GUY W. GARLAND—of Gardner — Democratic
HERMAN P. GRISE—of Gardner — Republican
JAMES J. HUNT—of Winchendon — Democratic
C. AYLMER SMITH—of Templeton — Republican

COUNTY COMMISSIONER—Worcester. . . Mark ONE.
ANDREW DAVIDSON—of Fitchburg — Socialist
JEREMIAH POTTER—of Clinton — Prohibition
EMERSON STONE—of Spencer — Republican
LOREN B. WALKER—of Clinton — Democratic

COUNTY COMMISSIONER—Worcester. . . Mark ONE.
(To fill vacancy for remainder of term of three years from first Wednesday of January, 1903.)
GIDEON M. ALDRICH—of Uxbridge — Democratic
WARREN GOODALE—of Clinton — Republican
CHARLES K. HARDY—of Worcester — Socialist

REGISTER OF PROBATE AND INSOLVENCY. Mark ONE.
Worcester County.
GEORGE H. HADLOW—of Worcester — Republican

Dem. ...

THE MASSACHUSETTS BALLOT

It is possible to vote a straight ticket only by making a mark after the name of the party candidate for each office. It is exactly as easy to split the ticket as to vote straight. It is interesting to note the very brief and clear instructions printed on the Massachusetts ballot, as contrasted with the complicated directions given to the voter in New York.

for vote by ballot was stricken out of Lord Grey's Reform Bill in 1832, and that for the ensuing forty years the elections in England were conducted under the old *viva voce* system, as they had been for generations preceding. The agitation for a written ballot was especially active in the late '30's of the last century. It was vigorously promoted by the historians Grote and Macaulay. The opposition resorted to arguments that we can only half comprehend. There seems to have been abroad in the land a vague fear lest the voter, when privileged to exercise his franchise in secret, would wreak some awful vengeance on those in authority. Nor was this dread confined to old England. Sydney Smith, writing in 1839, quotes our own John Randolph of Roanoke as remarking in characteristic tone: "I scarcely believe we have such a fool in all Virginia as to mention even the vote by ballot, and I do not hesitate to say that the adoption of the ballot would make any nation a nation of scoundrels, if it did not find them so." The Southern States of the Union kept the *viva voce* vote long after the ballot had been adopted in the North, and in the case of Kentucky the ancient method prevailed down to our own day.

The English opponents of the ballot argued down to the very last that secret voting would promote hypocrisy. At the same time they sturdily contended—and with good grounds—that the American ballot was not really secret at all. With tickets printed and circulated by the candidates or party managers, with absolutely no privacy for the voter in preparing his ballot, it was only in exceptional cases that any citizen's vote was his personal secret. There was nothing in either the laws or the customs of the country to enforce secrecy, and, as a matter of fact, public opinion did not

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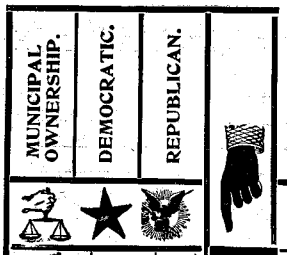
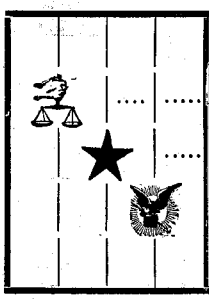


To vote for a candidate, obliterate with a pencil having black lead the whole of the white circle in the black square at the left of his name. To vote for a candidate for an office i. his name is not printed on this ballot as a candidate for that office, write his name with a pencil having black lead in the blank space under the printed names of candidates for that office. Any other mark will make this ballot void.

MAYOR. (Vote for ONE.)

1 WILLIAM R. HEARST.....Municipal Ownership
2 WILLIAM M. IVINS.....Republican
3 GEO. B. McCLELLAN.....Democratic
4 .....

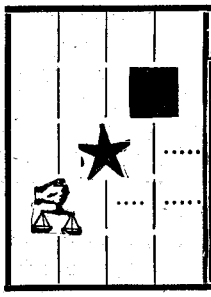


COMPTROLLER. (Vote for ONE.)

1 JOHN FORD.....Municipal Ownership
2 HERMAN A. METZ.....Democratic
3 CHAS. E. TEALE.....Republican
4 .....

PRESIDENT BOARD OF ALDERMEN. (Vote for ONE.)

1 P. F. McGOWAN.....Democratic
2 J. G. PHELPS STOKES.....Municipal Ownership
3 JAMES WELLS.....Republican
4 .....



DISTRICT ATTORNEY. (Vote for ONE.)

1 WM. TRAVERS JEROME.....Republican and Jerome Noms.
2 JAMES W. OSBORNE.....Democratic
3 CLARENCE J. SHEARN.....Municipal Ownership
4 .....

BALLOT FAVORED BY THE REFORM BODIES IN NEW YORK

This is a modification of the Massachusetts ballot to suit the conditions in New York. The large number of illiterate voters in the city makes it advisable to place the party emblem opposite the name of each candidate. In Massachusetts the Constitutional provision eliminates the illiterate voters.

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demand such enforcement. England profited sooner than we from this experience. It was shown that bribery flourished where the briber was permitted to see that the bribed voter "delivered the goods." Therefore, when the Ballot Act of 1872 was drafted, British statesmen saw to it that American mistakes were not copied. They wisely adopted the essential features of the system that had been in successful operation in the Australian colonies for nearly a score of years. A booth was provided in which the voter, absolutely alone, must prepare and fold his ballot, which was

To vote for any Candidate on the Ballot make a Single Cross × Mark in the Square at left of his name. Or the Voter may Write in, under the respective Offices, the names of any Persons for whom he desires to Vote for such Offices, if such names are not already printed on the Ballot.

For MAYOR. Vote for ONE	For President Board of Aldermen. Vote for ONE
WILLIAM R. HEARST.....Mun. Ownership	P. F. McGOWAN.....Democratic
WILLIAM M. IVINS.....Republican	J. G. PHELPS STOKES..Mun. Ownership
GEO. B. McCLELLAN.....Democratic	JAMES L. WELLS.....Republican
For COMPTROLLER. Vote for ONE	**For DISTRICT ATTORNEY. Vote for ONE**
JOHN FORD.....Municipal Ownership	WM. T. JEROME..Republican and Jerome Noms.
HERMAN A. METZ.....Democratic	JAMES W. OSBORNE.....Democratic
CHAS. E. TEALE.....Republican	CLARENCE J. SHEARN...Mun. Ownership

BALLOT SUGGESTED BY THE CITIZENS' UNION OF NEW YORK

This is the simplest possible form of ballot, and is practically the same as the Massachusetts ballot.

printed by the Government instead of at private expense, and which could be obtained only from the duly appointed election officials. Safeguards were thrown around the voter's privacy at the polls. A heavy blow was struck at bribery when votes could no longer be delivered openly to the buyers. It was admittedly unprofitable to deal in a commodity whose whole value rested on the word of an interested party, and which by no manipulation of the election machinery could be "checked up."

The Australian ballot had been in use, as we have seen, for almost twenty years before England made it a part of her own electoral machinery, and it was almost another twenty years before the United States was ready to take this leaf out of Great Britain's experience. The adoption of the principles of secrecy and an official ballot by so many States in the years 1889–93 meant a great gain for the cause of pure elections in this country. Attempted perversions of the means and thwartings of the ends of true reform which have crept into many of the ballot laws should not blind us to the fact that these two principles have become imbedded in our legislation. Whatever arrangement of names upon the ballot may be prescribed by this Legislature or that, we may rest assured that public sentiment will not in this day permit a return to unofficial voting-papers or the abandonment of those legal provisions which now secure the voter's privacy.

It may safely be assumed that every State will retain these essentials of an adequate ballot law, but in other features there are now and probably will continue to be wide divergences. The New York law is certainly in need of amendment, from the reformer's point of view, but even more open to objection is the Colorado law, which permits the voter to write in a blank space on the ballot the name of his party, thus facilitating identification, as was clearly brought out in the proceedings to determine the election of a Governor in 1904. Then what shall be said of the Missouri system, under which every Republican voter who desired to record his preference for Folk as Governor was required to write that candidate's name in full on his ballot? In

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other States also the ballot laws have been found to hinder, rather than to encourage, independent voting; but the people's mood everywhere at the present time, if the recent elections mean anything, is to be interpreted as intolerant of every bar to independent action. They will not remain content with a ballot that impedes such popular uprisings as the Folk movement in Missouri and the Jerome movement in New York. It is a good sign that States where reform is most needed are turning for an example to Massachusetts, where a model ballot law has been in force for many years. Under this law it is impossible to vote a straight ticket by means of a single mark. An "X" is required opposite every name voted for. The time required to vote a split ticket is neither longer nor shorter than that required for straight voting. Hence no indication of the voter's action is given to those outside the booth, whereas in New York it has always been possible for shrewd watchers to determine quite accurately whether or not a man was splitting his ticket.

The most serious fallibility that seems to be shared by every form of the Australian ballot is the opportunity that it gives for various methods of identification in the marking.[1] In the ballot proposed by the united reform organizations of New York City it is sought to minimize, if not wholly to eliminate, this opportunity, by reducing the required marking to the mere blacking of a small white circle opposite each name. Another suggestion is the substitution of a rubber stamp for a pencil.

The judicial investigation of the late election in New York City has revealed an astonishing number of errors in the preparation of ballots. In the Mayoralty election of 1897 no fewer than 6,657 ballots were declared void. Such results as these have argued to some minds the desirability of a form of mechanism that should reduce to the lowest terms the element of human intervention. The public has been educated in these latter years to stricter and stricter forms of official supervision of elections. Uniformity in the voting-papers has done away with the "paster" and tissue-paper frauds of former times. It is natural that the American inventive genius should concern itself with the mechanical perfection of our electoral system. Mechanical improvements have done much to give us fairer elections. May not external mechanism go still further? The paper ballot, after all, is but one stage in the evolutionary process. First came the white and black balls (whence *ballot*) of the Greeks. In later times the Hungarians used rods, each from four to six feet long, so that duplicates could not be concealed on the person of the elector before he entered the polling-place. In the last century nearly all civilized peoples adopted the voting-paper in one form or another. After that—perhaps the voting-machine. This device permits the voter, by means of knobs or buttons, to register his choice of candidates with a degree of certainty unequaled by any other method. Errors possible in marking a ballot are inexorably excluded from the machine, which is far less fallible than any mere human marking of a sheet of white paper with a pencil. Buffalo, Rochester, and several other populous New York cities have used the ballot machines with excellent results. The counting as well as the recording of the votes is done by the machine, and within a few minutes after the closing of the polls the pluralities for the whole city are known.

[1] Some of these apparent attempts at identification were shown in an article contributed to The Outlook for November 14, 1903, by Charles S. Hartwell.

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Secretary Taft on the Panama Canal

The address lately made by Secretary Taft before the St. Louis Commercial Club gave fully and clearly the results of his recent visit to the Isthmus—a visit, he said, to be repeated yearly during the construction of the Canal, not only in order that the supervisory power may be informed of progress made, but that those in charge on the ground may be stimulated and encouraged. So much misapprehension exists about present conditions on the Isthmus that The Outlook's readers, we are sure, will be interested in the following passages from Mr. Taft's address, selected with the purpose of showing what he actually saw for himself, and with the omission of much interesting matter, such as the history of the several Commissions, the dealings with Panama and France, and the Wallace incident, with all of which the reader has already had the opportunity to become informed through The Outlook. —THE EDITORS.

THE Panama Canal begins near Colon, on the north side of the Isthmus of Panama, at a small suburb called Cristobal, and runs in a southeasterly direction to its other terminus, which is called La Boca, the Spanish word for "mouth," a suburb of the city of Panama. The odd sensation is given the traveler when he rides on the railroad from Colon to Panama of going south and east instead of west, and when he rises the next day in Panama he will find that, because Panama is on a point of land jutting out into the ocean, the sun both rises and sets in the Pacific. In its projected course the canal is made to follow generally the valleys of the Mindi and the Chagres Rivers on the north or Atlantic side and of the Rio Grande on the south or Pacific slope. It crosses the height of land at the famous cut in Culebra Hill between the two oceans, about thirty-two miles from the Atlantic and fourteen miles from the Pacific. Culebra, the lowest hill on the divide, was about 340 feet above the sea. The French made a cut in the hill to a point 140 feet above sea level, leaving for excavation, should there be a sea-level canal, a ditch yet to be dug ten miles long of 180 feet depth to the bed of the canal and 150 feet wide at the bottom, with sloping sides. . . .

When Mr. Wallace took charge, he did much work in trying to find out what the French company had left on the Isthmus worth using, in repairing locomotives and flat cars found there, and in laying sufficient side tracks from Culebra Cut to make excavation and dump the material in a proper place. This was only experimental, and was for the purpose of finding the real cost of excavation per cubic yard. He also began the work of constructing houses for workmen. He designed and carried on the work of furnishing a water supply to the city of Panama, and he did considerable work on a sewer system.

He did some work on docks at Cristobal and La Boca, and he laid some heavy rails on the railroad. He complained much of the slowness with which his requisitions for material, supplies, and equipment were furnished him. Complaints were continually coming to this country from employees and workmen representing that no sufficient houses were provided for them and no food either supplied them or to be purchased at reasonable prices. The yellow fever, in spite of the efforts of the sanitation bureau, began to show, in the increasing number of its cases, greater danger to the Americans employed by the Commission. Salaries were said to be much too low because of the high cost of any kind of living and the risk to health and life. All these elements working together created something like a panic on the Isthmus among the employees of the Commission.

They witnessed the arrival of the first supplies and equipment in such great quantity as to produce congestion and confusion, and, like an army without confidence in its leaders, they felt that chaos was at hand. I do not seek to place the blame for this on any one person, but rather on the method or system. . . .

By the 1st of December we shall have

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spent $60,000,000 in the course of acquiring a trans-Isthmian canal. The two questions which the American people have a right to ask are, first, Have we proceeded without unnecessary delay? Second, have we received our money's worth? . . . In the nature of things, in the early days of a great organization like the human machinery for building this canal, progress toward smooth coordination and satisfactory results is slow. Many thoughtless persons cry out, "Why does not the dirt begin to fly? The way to build the canal is to dig." Such remarks only show the ignorance of the authors and their complete failure to understand the real character of what has to be done. The canal is to be built by manual labor and machinery. The number of laborers required will perhaps be twenty-five thousand.

Panama is a sparsely settled country, with few laborers available. The great majority of those employed must be imported. For every laborer brought in at least one person more will come who will be dependent on him. We must therefore count on an alien population of fifty thousand to be distributed along the line of the canal for forty-seven miles. To get the best work out of the laborers, they and their families must be housed; they must have healthful food; they must have pure, good water to drink, and the filth and noisome drainage caused by such a collection of human beings must be taken care of so as not to promote disease. Finally, Panama has a history of awful losses of life among workmen engaged in the construction of the railroad and the canal from yellow fever and malaria, and these two diseases must be stamped out. All these things ought to be done before "the dirt begins to fly."

When Mr. Wallace left, the pay-roll contained the names of eight thousand men. Since Mr. Stevens has taken hold, in three months this has been increased from eight thousand to thirteen thousand. . . . There were left standing along the canal some 2,175 structures erected by the French. With the rapid decay that follows neglect in the tropics, most of these structures were in such tumble-down condition as to be uninhabitable. They had to be repaired, and they had to be repaired with material brought from the United States. The amount of timber actually ordered and needed for the repairing and construction of the houses is upward of 32,000,000 feet. The difficulty in promptly securing the shipping of this will suggest itself to those who know of the incidental delays in practical transportation either from Oregon or the Atlantic coast to Panama. Until lately there has been much delay in persuading competent carpenters from the United States in sufficient numbers to come to the Isthmus. The towns of Panama and Colon, and the sixteen towns and villages lying between them along the line of the canal and the railroad, all must be furnished with water. Panama as a settlement is one of the oldest towns in America, and yet, for about three hundred years, during the dry season there has been no means of furnishing water to the Panamanians except from cisterns, puddles, and receptacles for water, often covered with green scum and as productive of disease as is possible to imagine. The first thing that the first Commission did (and to them is the credit due) was to make arrangements for the construction of a water supply for Panama. Engineer Wallace and his assistants devised the plans, took a reservoir which had been partly constructed by the French, some eleven miles from Panama, built the dam twenty feet higher and ran the water-pipes to Panama, and then laid the mains into Panama, so that on the 4th of July, 1905, the water-cocks in the city of Panama were opened, and the people were permitted to drink pure water. . . . Sewers are now being constructed in Panama, and about fifty per cent. of them have been completed. In order to make Panama really healthful, the Commission has decided it to be necessary to pave the streets, which for centuries have been dirty—muddy in rainy weather, dusty in dry weather, and full of disease in all weathers. The whole Isthmus strip from Panama to Colon, when our Commission went there first, was grown up with underbrush, with weeds, and with all that jungle that a tropical soil and weather unrestrained rejoice in. Now,

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from point to point, as the population increases, as the work is elaborated, the jungle is being cut down, the hills are being shaved, and under the tremendous work of the sanitary department pools are being drained, swamps relieved of water, and in every way the stagnant water surfaces and the propagating ground for the deadly mosquito are being reduced. When one thinks of a strip forty-seven miles long and half a mile wide, in the center of the tropics, with marshy swamps and water accumulating everywhere, the task of reducing the stagnant water surface so as to prevent the generation of mosquitoes seems impossible. But it must be and can be done.

The mosquito is the worst enemy in the propagation of disease in the West Indies and American tropics that man has. One variety in the Isthmus carries the germ of the deadly yellow fever, and another variety carries the germ of malaria, while a third infects its victims with the loathsome disease of elephantiasis. . . . When Judge Magoon arrived upon the Isthmus, he found Dr. Gorgas battling manfully against the yellow fever, but the cases seemed to be increasing. Judge Magoon conceived the idea that the fumigation which had been confined to two or three houses might well be extended to all the houses in Panama, and at considerable expense, and after procuring a large amount of material, every house in Panama was fumigated once every two weeks. To secure increased vigilance and popular assistance he employed all the respectable Panamanian physicians of Panama as inspectors of the districts of that city, at annual salaries of $1,200 a year. He also offered $50 reward for the discovery of any case of yellow fever not reported. By methods of this kind the native apathy, usually so great an obstacle to successful sanitation in Spanish countries, was neutralized.

The plan of fumigation is as follows: Strips of paper are placed across the windows, which ordinarily have no glass or any netting in them, and then by the fumes either of sulphur or pyrethrum every nook and cranny of the house is visited. These gases are fatal or paralyzing to the mosquito. After sufficient time has passed the house is opened, and then a corps of health employees are set to work cleaning the house and sweeping out the dead mosquitoes, which are found in great numbers upon the floors. The mosquitoes are burned to avoid further mischief. By these methods, for which Dr. Gorgas and Governor Magoon are both to be credited with great praise, yellow fever has been reduced to a point where during the last month only three cases were reported, not one of these among canal employees, and all originating many miles from the canal line. The efforts to subdue the fever, instead of being relaxed, are being continued. Square miles of woven-wire netting with interstices so small as to prevent the entrance of mosquitoes are spread about the piazzas of the houses of all Americans and foreigners who come to live under the auspices of the Canal Commission in the Isthmus. The windows inside are also screened, and then mosquito-bars on the beds are used as a third precaution. Whenever a case of yellow fever is discovered, the patient is at once either removed to the hospital and put under a woven-wire screen, or, if he prefers to remain at home, the woven-wire screen is put over him and an orderly placed in charge of him at his own residence. In this way he is prevented from furnishing a supply of the poison to the healthy mosquitoes, who, in turn, by stinging, would bring it back to man. In other words, the plan is to kill all the mosquitoes, well or ill, keep them as much as possible from stinging man, and isolate every man with yellow fever, not from his fellows, but from mosquitoes. . . . Little by little, and facing discouragement after discouragement, the two thousand employees of the sanitary department are winning in this fight against disease, upon which the whole success of the canal work depends. As Mr. Stevens said to me, when I crossed the Isthmus with him this month, "I take off my hat to the work which the sanitation department has done in this Canal Zone." In August, out of a force of thirteen thousand men, the percentage of illness was less than 25 per thousand. In June the cases of yellow fever were 61 and 19 deaths, in July there were 36 cases and

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13 deaths, in September there were 9 cases, and in October but 3. The percentage of deaths among all is about 33, and among Americans about 20.

The work of furnishing water, of installing sewers, and of building houses is not now in the sanitation department, but is under the engineering and construction department, but as soon as the work is completed it will be turned over to the sanitation department for maintenance. Good food is now furnished by a commissary at reasonable rates. The carrying of refrigerated fruits and foods and meats on refrigerator cars from Colon across the Isthmus has just been begun. There is an ice plant at La Boca, another one at Colon, and others along the way are to be constructed, so that ice—that most healthful form of liquid in the tropics—will be at hand for all.

Not only has it been found possible to accomplish much by the draining of swamps by surface drainage, or turning of stagnant pools into running water, the cutting of gutters and the flushing from reservoirs, but the attention of the chief engineer has also been directed to filling up, with the spoil from excavation made in construction, swamps and lowlands which now generate disease.

The evidences of successful war against malaria are not so easy to produce as those of the defeat of yellow fever. One reason is that malaria is so much harder to combat than is yellow fever. . . . The great difficulty in preventing the transmission of malaria is that, with sixty or seventy per cent. of the persons infected with malaria, it is impossible to prevent malaria mosquitoes from happening upon the source of malaria supply in the blood of sixty per cent. of the inhabitants of the Isthmus. The cases of yellow fever, on the other hand, are comparatively so few that isolating them is a real measure of protection to all. Nevertheless, by the reduction in the total number of mosquitoes, which, though an enormous task, is still capable of accomplishment, the spread of malaria may be largely checked. This is a work of constant attention, and one which will last long after the construction of the canal, and will be constantly the task of all those responsible for the government of the strip. Of course the less malaria, even of the mild character, the greater the efficiency of the laborer.

Nearly all the labor upon the Isthmus is now negro labor from the West India Islands. It is very poor. The question remains to be decided whether we shall attempt to secure Chinese or Japanese labor. It has been held by the Attorney-General that the Federal eight-hour law applies to those employed by the Canal Commission. I was at first disposed to think its effect would be good, because we could have three shifts every twenty-four hours. I am assured, however, by Mr. Stevens and Governor Magoon that its enforcement only interferes with good work. Petitions are being filed by all foreigners and Americans asking that its operation in the Zone be amended. There is practically no limit to the negro labor we can obtain from the West Indian and Caribbean Islands, but its efficiency is so low that we may have to call in Asiatics. Another year will show more facts upon which a labor policy may be based. The fact that no white labor can be found to stand work in the tropical sun ought to remove the question from the forum of ordinary trade-union labor discussion and lead to a solution free from considerations which might properly have great weight in a more temperate climate and in conditions less resembling a national emergency.

I visited the Isthmus a year ago and again this year. I am able to see a marked difference, even in outward appearances, and to say with much emphasis and certainty that real work has been done and is being done. The effect of better housing for the employees, the influence of the successful efforts of the sanitation department to stamp out yellow fever, the confidence of the American subordinate engineers, foremen, clerks, rodmen, and others that there is a competent and skillful head to the enterprise in Mr. Shonts, knowing what is being done in each department and co-ordinating all departments, tends to give an atmosphere of conscious progress, individual interest, and patriotic pride in the great task of a great

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Nation. The Panamanians feel the change and are accordingly happy and contented with things as they are. . . . Fifty millions of dollars were taken out of the Treasury of the United States, $40,000,000 for the French Panama Canal Company and $10,000,000 for the Republic of Panama, to give us the canal as it is and the right of way and the Panama Railroad. Ten millions were voted to begin the preliminary work on the canal. That $10,000,000 is about exhausted. . . .

The pay-roll at present amounts to something like $600,000 a month, and there is not enough money on hand after the payment of the bills to meet the December pay-roll. There are bills unpaid for material and supplies which should be paid at once. The delay is quite oppressive and unjust to the creditors of the Government. It will be necessary, therefore, for Congress to make an emergency appropriation to carry on the work without calamitous interruption. Nothing could be more disastrous than to have the pay-rolls go unpaid for even a few weeks. This was the trouble with the New French Panama Canal Company, and with the Old French Panama Canal Company. Certainly there is nothing in the credit of the United States justifying suspension of payments. I know there is a disposition in some quarters, and possibly among some members of Congress, to reinvestigate everything connected with the canal. But, while this desire to know all about the canal and its construction is most commendable, it will hardly be allowed to delay the current appropriations for the daily work by thirteen thousand laborers that is now being so successfully carried on. It may be asked, Why have the conditions been allowed to arise under which an emergency appropriation must be asked? The answer is that those responsible deemed it their chief duty to push the work, to buy needed plant and material as rapidly as possible, and to increase the pay-roll as far as provision could be made for the housing and comfort of the additional laborers and employees. It was supposed that an extra session of Congress would be called in October, when ample time would have been given for deliberation in making all the necessary appropriation. . . .

One of the great obstacles to success in building the canal is the opposition of powerful persons and interests to its construction. Some of this opposition comes from those who are sincerely convinced that the Panama route is not a practicable route, and that there are other and easier routes to be preferred. It is not to be expected that owners and managers of great transcontinental lines should become enthusiastic over an enterprise which, if carried to completion, must certainly affect the rates of freight between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. . . . It takes different forms. It is found in the misrepresentations of conditions on the Isthmus, in unfounded reports concerning friction between those having authority in the canal work, in intimations of irregularities and frauds and favoritism in contracts without any evidence whatever to justify suspicion, and generally in the constant suggestion of a presumption that the expenditure of millions in building the canal must involve what is called "graft."

Doubtless Congressional investigations will be held from time to time. Doubtless they ought to be held to assure the public; but if they are to be permitted to delay the work on the canal and to paralyze the energy of those upon whom the burden of pushing the work must fall, then they will be productive of evil and will become exactly what many private interests would be glad to have them become, the grave of all the high hopes for a trans-Isthmian canal. The American people will not permit such a catastrophe.

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The Progress of the Negro in One County in the South

By Booker T. Washington

IF possible, I want to give the readers of The Outlook an idea of the progress of the negro race in a single county in one of the Southern States. For this purpose I select Gloucester County, Virginia. I take this one for the reason that I had the privilege of visiting it a number of years ago, just about the time when interest in the education of the colored people was beginning to be aroused, and for the further reason that this is one of the counties in Virginia and the South that has been longest under the influence of graduates of the Hampton Institute, as well as men and women trained in other centers of education. I have also drawn very heavily upon an investigation recently made by Mr. W. T. B. Williams, one of the agents of the General Education Board.

Gloucester County is in the tide-water section of eastern Viginia.

According to the census of 1890, Gloucester County contained a total population of 12,832, a little over one-half being colored, and both sets of schools are in session from five and a half to six months, and the pay of the two sets of teachers is about the same. The majority of the colored teachers in this country were trained at Hampton, and have been teaching in this county for a number of years. For the most part, the teachers of Gloucester County are not mentally superior, but what they lack in methods of teaching and mental alertness is more than made up for by the moral earnestness and the example they set. Most of the teachers are natives of the county, and, what is more important, most of them own property in the county.

Now, what is the economic or material result in one county where the negro has been given a reasonable chance to make progress? I say "reasonable," because it must be kept in mind that the great body of white people in America, with whom the negro is constantly compared, have schools that are in session from eight to nine months in the year. According to the public records, the total assessed value of the land in Gloucester County is $666,132.33. Of the total value of the land, the colored people own $87,953.55. The buildings in the county have an assessed valuation of $466,127.05. The colored people pay taxes upon $79,387 of this amount. To state it differently: the negroes of Gloucester County, beginning about forty years ago in poverty, have reached the point where they now own and pay taxes upon one-sixth of the real estate in this county. This property is very largely in the shape of small farms, varying in size from ten to one hundred and fifty acres. A large proportion of the farms contain about ten acres.

Cultivating their own farms is not the only occupation of these people. A large proportion of the laborers upon the farms owned by white people are negroes, and many of them are engaged in the oyster and fishing industries during a portion of the year. It is interesting to note the influence of this material growth upon the home life of the people. It is stated upon good authority that about twenty-five years ago at least three-fourths of the colored people lived in one-roomed cabins. Let a single illustration tell the story of the growth. In a school where there were thirty pupils ten testified that they lived in houses containing six rooms, and only one said that he lived in a house containing but a single room.

I have always believed that in proportion as the industrial, not omitting the intellectual, condition of my race was improved, in the same degree would their moral and religious life improve.

Some years ago, before the home life and economic condition of the people had improved, bastardy was common. In 1903 there were only eight cases of bastardy reported in the whole county,

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and two of those were among the white population. During the year 1904 there was only one case of bastardy within a radius of ten miles of the court-house. Another gratifying evidence of progress is shown by the fact that there is very little evidence of immoral relations existing between the races. In the whole county, during the year 1903, about twenty-five years after the work of education had gotten under way, there were only thirty arrests for misdemeanors; of these sixteen were white, fourteen colored. In 1904 there were fifteen such arrests—fourteen white and one colored. In 1904 there were but seven arrests for felonies; of these two were white and five were colored.

Throughout Gloucester County the negro teachers and ministers work in close co-operation. For the most part, where a school is located the church is not far away. The ministers and churches help forward the work of education in many ways.

There is a high school in the county that is almost wholly supported by the people through gifts from the churches. In one point at least the colored people in Gloucester County have set an example for the rest of the religious world that ought to receive attention. It is in this regard: there is only one religious denomination in all of this county, and that is the Baptist. No over-multiplying, no overlapping, no denominational wrangling and wasting of money and energy.

One other point: a close examination shows that friendly and cordial relations exist between the white and black races; that the growth of both races in the matter of education and property does not increase racial friction. For these goodly results I have spoken of the influence of the teachers, ministers, etc. Let me mention one other, perhaps the most potent single influence —that of Thomas H. Walker, a successful negro lawyer and farmer, whose whole life is freely given in the elevation of his people. When I taught the first night school at the Hampton Institute, Walker was a member of it, working ten hours at the sawmill during the day and studying books for two hours at night.

I have singled out Gloucester County for these facts in order to show what the race can accomplish under reasonably good conditions. In the great majority of counties in the South the conditions as to education, economic life, and morality are very, very far below Gloucester County, but what has been done in this county can be equaled or surpassed in the near future if all of us, North and South, black and white, will do our whole duty.

The Indian as a Worker

By the Rt. Rev. James Bowen Funsten

Missionary Bishop of Idaho and Wyoming

IN the course of my labors it has been my mission to travel over a large part of the Pacific Northwest, and also of the Rocky Mountain country. Nothing has interested me so much from a religious and ethnic standpoint as the study of the condition of the Indians on the various reservations that I visited. The wild Indian is passing away; he is a diminishing quantity. The conditions of the reservation life, the teaching of the Government, the example of surrounding white men, the disappearing of wild animals which furnished a food supply, are forcing upon the Indians a realization of the absolute necessity of work. In this article I shall speak particularly of Shoshone reservations, such as the Lemhi, Fort Hall, and Wind River. At all these points, in the few years that I have been making observations, there has been an improvement. On the two former reservations are members of the kindred Bannock tribes; on the latter is a band of Arapahoe Indians, who are far in advance of the Shoshones in intelligence. In fact, they have a good deal of the shrewdness and foresight of a white man. They are building neat log houses, and widening

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the zone of irrigation in their efforts to till the soil. Altogether, on the Wind River Reservation there are about three thousand Indians, half of whom may be assigned to the Shoshones; the others are the Arapahoes. Old Chief Washakie, with whom I talked a few years ago, but who is now dead, was wonderfully sagacious, and told his people that the only way in which they could live under the new conditions was by sending their children to school, adopting the white man's religion, and supporting themselves by work; and he gave them an example by showing that one who had been a great warrior could in his old age engage in honorable toil. He is the Indian chief who, years ago, received a beautiful saddle from General Grant through the officer in charge of the Post, and, saying nothing, the officer asked him why he did not give thanks as white men did. His reply was, "White man talks from the head; the head has got a tongue: Indian talks from his heart; the heart has no tongue." Mooyoova, an Indian who is still living on the Wind River Reservation, and who has cattle, raises hay, and has a good log house on his one hundred and sixty acres of land, gave me the following account, recently, of his evolution from the wild-Indian state to that of a hard and faithful worker. "There was a time," said he, "when I rode around all day, dressed up and painted up like other wild Indians. I had nothing but my horses and teepee. One day I said to myself, 'I am going to work all the same as white man.' I got horses and a plow. I took five acres of land, and started to plow. I laugh now when I remember it took five Indians to run that plow. Two Indians held the horses, two Indians held the plow, and I told them what to do. Next year I took better land. Now I have got good land, plenty cattle, horses, and hay, and all the time I am telling Indians to do what is right, and work like the white man."

The experience of this Indian is being duplicated over and over again. The Indians are realizing, too, the danger of being land-poor. For instance, at the Wind River Reservation they have recently obtained the consent of the Government to diminish the size of their reservation and use the money gained by selling part of the land mainly for putting in an immense irrigation ditch from the Little Wind River, which will add great value to large quantities of fertile land at present unavailable for agriculture. Of course this change in the reservation had to be accomplished by the consent of the two tribes and a treaty with them. By the terms of this treaty, which Congress ratified, that portion of the reservation north of Big Wind River and east of the Papo-Agie, altogether a little less than one and one-half million acres of land, will be thrown open to settlement. This will leave a diminished reservation, of somewhat more than eight hundred thousand acres, to be allotted to the Indians in severalty. For the ceded land the Indians will receive one million dollars. This money will be used to construct the irrigation ditch above referred to, to buy live stock, and to form a general welfare fund. The principal and interest of this is to be used as the Indians in council may direct and the Secretary of the Interior approve. It is the general opinion of those most intelligent as regards Indian affairs and who have dwelt among the Indians and watched over them for years that this cutting down of uselessly large reservations and bringing the Indians into the lines of the world's workers is decidedly in their favor. The worthy among them have nothing to fear from the near approach of American civilization, which is Christian. The average citizen will do all he can to help a worthy and industrious neighbor, even if he is an Indian. The policy of the Department now is to place each family on a good big farm allotment and to buy all surplus land and open it up for settlement. This is a perfectly sane and reasonable policy. The non-progressive Indians object to it, however, for they dread the light of civilization and the restraint of law; this was the reason why the members of the heathen element among the Arapahoes refused to sign the treaty and spoke vehemently against it. It was the strong influence of such intelligent Indians as Yellowcalf and that of the Rev. Sherman Coolidge, supported by the young men of the tribe who had

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been brought up in the Government school, that carried the day for progress and civilization.

The Government certainly deserves a great deal of praise for its paternal interest in the Indians, and we believe the character of those who train them is of a much better texture than in former years. A short time ago, however, my heart was moved with pity at the sight of some Indian girls who had been trained in an Eastern school, brought back to the reservation, where absolutely nothing awaited them but to return to the dirty old teepee, or log house, to be the objects of ridicule to the old squaws, representing the most non-progressive element among the Indians. What are these young girls, eighteen to twenty years old, to do under such conditions? It is not hard to picture what their fate will be, without work, without protection, in a dirty and immoral Indian camp. It is easy to be seen that much of their education will go for nothing, and their last state will be worse than the first. Surely it is the irony of fate to have laid upon us better ideals and then be thrust into conditions where it is impossible, or next to impossible, to realize newborn hopes or carry out a training adapted to utterly different conditions. The Government is perfectly right in trying to enroll the Indians among the world's workers, but its present system ought to go at least one step further, in providing protection and employment for the young people who have completed their training under its care and come back to the old reservation and the old surroundings with new ideas and new hopes that ought not to be shattered, as, alas! in too many cases I have known them to be. It is almost startling to realize that people in this country who have not yet passed middle life can well remember some of these Indians, whom they know by name, as wild, savage, and murderous wanderers over the plains, a menace to the traveler and rancher, but who are now working on their little places, planting fruit trees, building fences, cutting hay, and performing the useful arts of life.

Only the other day I was talking with Tindoy, chief of the Lemhi Shoshones, a man probably ninety years of age. He said to me, "I am the friend of the white man; I want my people to be happy; I want their children taught in the school; I do not want my young men to get drunk or fight. I want our young women to do what is right; if white man does what is right, he goes up there," pointing his finger upward; "if Indian does what is right, he goes up there; if white man is bad, he goes down there," pointing his finger down; "Indian bad, all the same." It seems to me that this evidences a growing conviction on the part of the Indians of all classes that their only salvation lies in the direction of good, honest work, and winning for themselves the comforts that come from faithful toil. We must not be impatient with them; their customs cannot be changed in a short time; but the Government is taking the right steps in trying to solve the problem of getting the Indian to be self-helpful and one of the world's workers. It is interesting to notice at various points in the reservation log houses being built by Indians; Indians cutting their hay; and sometimes one can see visible marks of the evolution that is taking place, for side by side with the old teepee and Indian camp stands a neat new log house, and probably a barn with mowing-machine and buggy. This is encouraging, for it is to be remembered that behind the building where the treaty of the Wind River Indians was recently signed is an old mission house in which Bishop Randall preached on the occasion of his visitation in 1873. It proved to be the last service of that saintly man. He then, and his whole congregation, narrowly escaped a massacre, for, while all the white employees and their families and a few Shoshones that happened to be at the Agency were attending his service, they were surrounded by hostile raiding Indians. They were saved, as these hostile Indians afterward told, owing to the supposition that they had assembled there for protection, and were prepared for the attack; when in reality not one in the congregation was armed. The next day, in returning through Lander, the Bishop saw the bodies of two women who had been murdered by these raiders.

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Let those who are inclined to discount the value of the effort being made in behalf of the Indian contrast such scenes as these with his present condition, and they will at once recognize the undoubted and evident fact that great strides have been made, and that the possibility, in a few years, of transforming the Indian into an industrious and useful citizen is by no means to be looked on as a dream of the impractical idealist.

A Concrete Example

By Tudor Jenks

THE Reverend James Forsyth was on his way to the rectory. It was just the beginning of a new quarter, and, having lately received his salary for the preceding three months, he had become the recent purchaser of several articles for his wardrobe. These were now worn for the first time, and the glossiness of his new hat, the elegance of his modest gloves, and the snug neatness of his shoes gave to the reverend gentleman a sense of peace and security.

It was a spring day, and the rector had a strong fellow-feeling for the trees, which were rejoicing, no doubt, in the subdued beauty of their new furry buds. Such being his mental attitude toward inanimate nature, it is superfluous to say that his heart was also full of a love for all humanity. Then, too, his way to the rectory lay through pleasant places, far from the streets where the struggle for existence assumes a guerrilla phase conducted upon a commissariat of small children, tin cans, and stale beer. His path led him through those quiet streets which seemed to be chiefly inhabited by housemaids who clean windows through an overweening love of neatness.

His mind was in a state of unconscious cerebration, engaged with the composition of a discourse for Lenten exhibition. The subject was provisionally called "Charity." The general thread was being gracefully unwound, and it seemed to him that it would not lack its pearls of thought nor clasps of solid logic. His general idea was certainly an excellent one. He was not unfamiliar with the more modern literature of the social sciences, and, indeed, while he claimed no erudition, there was a quiet consciousness that even the ablest and most rabid of modern destructive philosophers would find it difficult to show his consistency, provided that their debate might be conducted in the rector's study apart from the applause of the mob or the atmosphere of demagoguery. Now, his notion of the embryo sermon was that it should reconcile the beautiful evangelic ideal propounded in the New Testament with the actual as exhibited in the city life of the day.

He felt that, while it was not apparent at first sight, the relation between the simple, devoted, and self-sacrificing life of the Apostles and the life of the contemporary clergy was that of modified descent, and directly traceable to a necessary change of environment.

"It is all a question," said his brain-cells, "of the division of labor. In those days the simple task of the priesthood was the dissemination of the Gospel in its nascent, in its seminal, form. They addressed themselves to the mind groping in the darkness and seeking any light which would serve to dissipate the gloom. Why not make a simile? Were not the Apostles like the ancient lamp-sellers—who, so long as they could insure a guide to the wandering feet of the villagers, were not asked that the horn lanthorn should do more than faintly glimmer out a pathway? And is not the modern preacher like the employee of some great electric light company? It seems so. For the latter is not to give to each wayfarer a hand-light for his own foot-path, but rather must he flood all the vast avenues of a teeming metropolis with rays which make of darkness a thing to be forgotten within the city's walls.

"Then, too," he went on, as he bowed with a smile of clerical sweetness to a favorite member of the Dorcas Club,

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"as the electric light throws darker shadows by its very luster, so does modern enlightenment heighten, by contrast, the depths of ignorance which abut upon its limits. That's not a bad beginning—if it's not too strained. But now to work back to charity. Hum!—let me see. What was it I had in mind? Yes, yes, I remember. It's not quite in shape yet, but the general idea is simple enough; of course the Apostles and disciples of old were not brought into contact with the same minute organization of industry. St. Paul—perhaps I would do better to avoid the concrete, but let it go for the present—St. Paul could readily enough ply his trade and still have time for ministry. But a modern clergyman as a necessary preliminary must sacrifice a breadwinning industry, and *ipso facto* must to some extent make his very bearing of the Gospel a means of support.

"It is the same with charity. What right has even the unfortunate to hold out a beseeching hand to the clergy—or, indeed, to the layman? Systematized as is the social organism of to-day, even the open hand of charity would tend to clog the wheels of industry. That is not a clear metaphor, and it must be polished—but the idea is there. To withdraw from the system of balanced exchanges any of the medium by which the exchanges are made is simply to increase the friction and diminish the effectiveness of all its functions—and ultimately even those of a charitable nature. That is clear enough to a mind accustomed to abstract thought—but rather above the heads of even St. Blasius's. Let me reduce it to actual life. Suppose that I give a five-dollar bill to a lounger on the corner. What is the direct result? First, I am so much the poorer. Second, I have to devote some of my time to replacing the money. Third, the chances are all in favor of its going to the rumseller at the corner. Hence it tends to diminish my power for good—for thinking, for labor in the spiritual field—and to increase *pro rata* labor in another—*spiritual* field!" The minister smiled indulgently at this exceedingly clerical pun.

"How frivolous the mind is!—but to return: Suppose that it goes to the baker—the most charitable supposition. Then my gift, while it feeds the hungry, equally tends to support the idle. It is plain enough!" said he to himself, breaking off. "But I have already gone about as far as is necessary before taking my pen in hand. The pen is always a new element, and sometimes precipitates some very unexpected solutions."

Satisfied that his discourse was really fused and ready to fill the mold of rhetorical form, the rector went on his way with eye turned outward.

On the next block he met another of his parishioners. This was an old college friend and an avowed skeptic. He was not of the iron-toothed, morose, and gloomy type once found in village sermons and warmed over and served anew by the modern novelist, but of the new and cheerful type. He had often talked with the minister in a friendly and familiar style about the difficulties he found in the way of accepting orthodox Christianity, and the burden of his song was the fact that he could not find it possible at once to accept the supernatural and at the same time claim the right to draw the line between a childlike faith and an unintelligent superstition.

The men bowed, smiled, and went their ways. Each man's thoughts left their previous course and took a resultant changed direction.

The rector's smile faded a little, slowly. He was recalling the concluding sentences of their last argument together. He had then said:

"Ah, my friend, the intellect is but a blind guide. Imagine the lover who should seek to justify the choice of his beloved by the cold dictates of reason! Distrust its narrow conclusions. The soul has its zones unvisited by logic's leaden wings. The heart—the heart is the true guide!"

Remembering this sentence—it was a paragraph from an unused sermon on the "Narrowness of Skepticism"—Mr. Forsyth's "frivolous" mind suggested to him the possible results of applying the same rule to his recent demonstration of the difference between the charity of the Apostles and that of the modern clergy.

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"What right have I," he asked himself, "to recommend to another the guidance of his instinctive feeling, and refuse the same pilot myself?"

He was in the habit of thinking in figures, and, having been to Europe the previous summer, vividly recalled the taking on of the pilot. While this image was still in his mind, he turned to look into a picture-shop. There was a painting in the window showing a tramp walking at a hopeless plodding pace along a dusty country road. The picture touched his heart, which was tender, and he was imaginative enough to project himself into it at once. He saw himself stopping the tramp, heard himself saying in a voice of deep and loving charity, "Brother, take courage! Let another's compassion come into that soul chilled by the apparent harshness of the world. I have little, but that little is enough for present needs. We will labor together, if need be. Let your dormant soul assert its supremacy once more—!"

There is no telling what the result of this imaginative partnership would have been if the minister had not been interrupted. There was a soft touch on his arm. He turned his head, and saw an outstretched hand.

"Boss, can you spare us a copper or two towards a night's lodging?"

The minister was bothered. The problem was so very concrete and demanded so immediate a solution.

"You shouldn't be begging, my man," was his first reply—a sort of castling move to gain time.

"Well, sir, I wouldn't if I didn't have to. But I can't get a job."

"Have you tried?"

"'Deed I have, sir. Many's the mile have I walked; but I'm a stranger in the city, and no one has anything for me to do."

"What's your trade?" asked the rector.

"I used to be a—what they call a 'glass-pudding' man—a glazier; but there's nothing in that now, and for a while back I've been doing whatever I could get."

"Can you refer me to any one?" asked the minister.

"Not here. I'm just from Philadelphia—and I'm sorry I've come. But no one knows me here."

The minister was not altogether pleased with this answer. It was too pat to the needs of a professional beggar.

"I make it a rule," he began, and the beggar's eyes drooped—"I make it a rule never to give in the street."

"All right, sir. I don't blame you, sir; there are plenty of frauds about. But it will hurt no one to give me the price of a meal."

"It's not that," said the rector, hastily. "It's the principle of the matter. I would give you a dollar or two, but I wish to do what's right."

"Well, sir, it's as you please. I don't see what I can do," answered the beggar, with an easy shifting of the responsibility, and he stood silently awaiting the rector's decision.

The good man went through a mental struggle. But the memory of a recent occasion when he had been swindled out of five dollars and the impression of his mental argument were strong upon him, and he said, desperately:

"Really, I cannot do it. I am sorry for you—if you are honest and deserving; but I am unable to distinguish the worthy cases, and cannot consent to indiscriminate almsgiving—even by the most trifling gift. Good-day."

"Thank you, sir," said the beggar, with a delicate and apparently professional mingling of sarcasm and humility.

Off went the rector at an unnecessarily rapid pace. He had acted upon what he knew to be a correct principle, and had done so even against the promptings of the natural man. He always knew about what silver pieces were in his change-pocket, and there were several disproportionately heavy quarter-dollars now apparent to him. Several times he had been tempted to take the ready and easy path of escape offered by the gift of a superfluous silver coin. Indeed, he could not help thinking just then of the loss of a quarter of a dollar the day before. In making change he had dropped it, and it had at once rolled, with provoking slowness, through a cellar grating. For a moment it had really worried him more than an extravagance costing many dollars; but,

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as he now reflected, he had never missed it, and it was consequently a proven superfluity. Why should he not have "lost" another by giving it to this poor fellow? It was an awkward question, and one that, he was compelled to confess, was too much for him.

It is unnecessary to trace the result of the introduction of this bit of fact into the gossamer vapor wreaths of the condensing sermon. The condensation, indeed, assumed a likeness to that devised by Watt, and the expanded vapor of words assumed at once its place in the drop of cold fact and was indistinguishably absorbed in it.

After a few moments of this process the rector turned sharply upon his heel and hurried back toward the picture-shop, with the coins of charity grasped in the firm hand of resolution.

Of course he was too late. Second thoughts are not in Nature's scheme of causes. Disheartened and ashamed, he resumed his way to the rectory.

On the next Sunday St. Blasius's spireless temple was thronged by the pew-holders, but by a little crowding made grudging room for a few deadhead worshipers of music and oratory.

The processional had sanctified the place, the morning prayer and litany had purified the worldly souls and prepared them for a draught of Gospel truth, and, in decent vestments, the Reverend James Forsyth ascended into the carved black-walnut pulpit and waited that settling of the congregation which precedes the expected treat of a really exciting sermon.

The text was James i. 27: "Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, To visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world."

He read it twice, and then, without loitering about the starting-post of second-hand Scriptural exposition, began to tell simply and without veneering of figurative illustration or tropes the story of his own preparation for the sermon.

Lacking the living voice, the magnetic eye, and the sensuous atmosphere of the ritualistic service, it would be impossible to throw the reader into the place of the hearer of that touching confession of human weakness, and that humble utilization of personal failure as a means to the bettering of other human souls.

Realizing the effect of the sermon as best the reader can, he will not be surprised to learn that the uneasiness of some of the occupants of pews on the middle aisle was very noticeable, but not at all noticed; nor to be assured that, excepting the usual collection for foreign missions, the plates never bore so heavy and blessed a burden during the offertory hymn.

The Reverend James Forsyth was humbled by the experience, but he would not have been human if his successful sermon had not made him happy. He received the warm congratulations of the poorer members of the congregation with a blushing pleasure and reserved seriousness which showed the happiness of a soul after a victory over worldly temptation. There was an Antæan strength in the discourse, and the rector felt anew what a power for good may be drawn from even the most trivial experiences.

He walked home after the service and ate an elaborate dinner with the quiet content of a laborer worthy of his hire.

"How foolish," he thought, over his cigar, which it was his pleasant custom to enjoy quietly in his library—"how foolish it is in man to be abashed by the onset of circumstances! Has he not an inward spiritual power capable of grappling with and overthrowing the myriad chance combinations of facts? The soul unerringly points ever to the lodestar of Love; and if we but set firm our course and be of brave heart, the waves of mere circumstance can never long divert the ship of human life from its haven." Here he took a contemplative puff or two, and wondered how he would complete the metaphor. But a "wave of circumstance" caused a knock at the study door.

"What is it, Harriet?"

"A man's below, sir. He says he heard your sermon this morning, and would like to see you."

"How a sermon *from* the heart goes straight *to* the heart!" thought the rector, with a glow of pleasure.

"Tell him I can see him now," said

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the rector, throwing his cigar into the grate with some regret.

In a moment the door opened, and in stepped the same beggar who had accosted him before the shop window.

"I heard your sermon, sir," said he, with his hat before his mouth, "and thought maybe you could do something for me now—and after hearing what you said, I know you'll be glad of the chance."

The minister eyed him, stood a moment with nerveless knees, motioned feebly toward a chair, seated himself, and, drawing up the box of cigars, lighted a fresh one.

Independent Norway[1]

THE recent election of Prince Charles of Denmark to the throne of Norway marks the culmination of a national struggle for independence. Coincidently with this election the appointment was announced of that distinguished Norwegian, Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, to be Norway's first Minister to London, probably the most important of the new kingdom's diplomatic posts. Anything that helps the student of politics better to understand why Norway wanted to separate from Sweden is to be welcomed. It is doubly interesting, however, when contributed by Dr. Nansen: the author of "Farthest North" justly commands a world-wide audience.

In the present volume he describes for us clearly and concisely the circumstances under which the union between Norway and Sweden came to be established and under which it has been developed. Thus the book is one to be read before attacking Otté's larger and more exhaustive work.

We do not always realize that Norway is one of the oldest kingdoms in Europe. As a sovereign State Norway has a history extending over more than ten centuries. Alfred the Great had ruled England but a year when Norway also became a united kingdom. At that time, of the States at present constituting Europe, only England, France, Denmark, and a Russian principality existed. But that was the very time when the Norwegian vikings were the foremost of the world's voyagers, raiders, and colonizers; to realize this we have but to remember Leiv Erikssön's landing in America, the settlement of Iceland, Greenland, and the Isle of Man. During the next two or three centuries, while Sweden's history was still obscure, Norway's was well authenticated. In 1380 King Haakon VI. died, and in 1387 King Olav Haakonssön died. The latter, a boy, had never exercised independent power, however. The male line of the Norwegian royal house became extinct. By right of descent the crown fell to the royal Danish house. Then came the union of Norway, Denmark, and Sweden (despite the recent separation, many look for its renewal some day), broken by the last named in 1521, Norway continuing to be united to Denmark until 1814 as an independent kingdom and with its own Grundlov, or Constitution. The King could and did act in his capacity as Norwegian monarch alone. Moreover, Norway has always had her own independent and entirely national army.

In 1809 Sweden lost Finland. A few years later the impoverished kingdom sided with the Allied Powers against Napoleon. Though at first the Norwegians were unwilling to transfer allegiance from Denmark to Sweden, the Allies insisted on rewarding Swedish loyalty by handing over Norway to Sweden. This transfer seemed a high-handed interference by outsiders, but it was finally really accomplished by the Norwegians themselves. Again, though linguistically the Norwegians are closer to the Danes than to the Swedes, the transfer was nevertheless a natural one, not only because of geographical but also because of political reasons. The very year in which the Swedes lost Finland, having to elect an heir to their childless king, they selected the commander-in-chief of the Norwegian army, Prince

[1] *Norway and the Union with Sweden*. By Fridtjof Nansen. The Macmillan Company, New York.

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Christian Augustus, with the declaration that the Prince "had done Sweden the greatest service that it had hitherto ever had done to it by a foreigner." This service had indeed been timely. The Russians had occupied Finland and had advanced against Sweden itself, now menaced from two sides, for a Norwegian army of nearly thirty thousand men, under Prince Christian Augustus, stood on the Swedish border, a force much superior to Swedish resistance. Had advantage been taken of the opportunity, the Norwegians would have been capable of acquiring part of Sweden. But, as Dr. Nansen proudly says, "we looked farther ahead than the mere advantages of the moment; a weakening of Sweden's powers of resistance, with a foe pressing upon it from the East, would have threatened great danger to the future of the Scandinavian countries." The Prince therefore agreed to a truce with the Swedish army. Unfortunately, he died the next year. The Swedes again had to elect an heir. Their choice fell upon John Bernadotte, Napoleon's favorite marshal, who took the name of Carl Johan. Three years after his predecessor had rescued Sweden from ruin, Carl Johan agreed to become the ally of the Russian Czar, on condition that the latter would undertake to abandon his former allies, Denmark-Norway, and to acquire Norway for Sweden! After Napoleon had been defeated at the battle of Leipsic (1813), Carl Johan turned with the allied Swedish, Russian, and Prussian forces against Denmark and won an easy victory over the Danish troops. Thereupon, the following year, the Treaty of Kiel was forced upon the Danish king, according to which he relinquished Norway's throne to the Swedish king—not to the kingdom of Sweden. As Dr. Nansen is careful to point out, the treaty contains no definite expression proposing to make Norway an integral part of Sweden or to make it dependent upon Sweden. The historian justly insists, as do all Norwegians, that when Norway's king abandoned his claims to the crown of that country, Norway itself inherited the sovereign State's prerogative of settling the question of its own constitution and the occupation of its throne.

When the news of the Treaty of Kiel arrived in Norway, representatives from different parts of the country met at Eidsvold and prepared a new Grundlov, or Constitution, electing Christian Frederick king. Thereupon Swedish troops entered Norway. A campaign followed, lasting a fortnight. The only general action resulted in a Norwegian victory. Carl Johan never conquered Norway, as has been incorrectly stated; instead, he opened negotiations. The "Historians' History" also says on this point: "Fortunately, Carl Johan was disposed toward moderation; he realized that the new union would be badly cemented with blood. He . . . recognized the Constitution voted at Eidsvold." Having gained this major point, the Norwegians were prepared to surrender their minor point, the person of the king, Christian Frederick meanwhile having laid the exercise of his prerogative at the nation's disposal. The Norwegian Storthing, or parliament, met, and, treating the question of a union on equal terms with the Swedish king, elected him King of Norway, thus establishing a joint crown. Under the "Rigsakt," or Active Union, "this union is entered into not by force of arms but by free conviction," and the kingdom of Norway is "a free, independent, indivisible, and inalienable kingdom, united with Sweden under one king."

We are accustomed to think of the two people inhabiting the Scandinavian Peninsula as socially and politically, as they are racially and religiously, one people. But they are not so, as much as many suppose. Socially, Norway is democratic: in comparison, Sweden is aristocratic. Politically the Norwegians mistrust the Swedes; first, because of the Court's plot in 1821 against Norwegian independence; secondly, because of Swedish domination in the dual kingdom's foreign service; thirdly, because of Swedish interference in matters concerning the Norwegian Constitution. As to the conduct of foreign affairs, when Norway's interests have been coincident with Sweden's, it has been customary for the two to act together; on the other hand, whenever one kingdom has had its own interest to safeguard, it has contracted a treaty on its own behalf

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alone. In this way both Norway and Sweden have made a number of separate commercial, boundary, extradition, and other agreements. The Foreign Minister and the ambassadors have not been authorized, without special instruction from the Norwegian executives, in any way to commit Norway to any course of action with respect to a foreign power, while, if the making of a treaty required a modification of law or if it affected the treasury, it had, as a rule, to be approved by the Storthing. But the Foreign Minister has always been a Swede. The Norwegians, therefore, long and persistently demanded a joint Foreign Minister—Swede or Norwegian—responsible to both kingdoms, and the Storthing unanimously passed a bill for the establishment of a separate consular service. Oscar II., as King of Norway, refused to sanction the law. The Norwegian Cabinet resigned. The King could not get another Cabinet to take the responsibility of such a state of things. Without a responsible government in Norway the irresponsible King could not govern. In Dr. Nansen's clear words, the crown placed itself outside the boundaries of the Norwegian Constitution. Personal autocracy without constitutional advisers was in open conflict with the principle and wording of that Constitution. The Storthing could not allow the country to remain without a government. Hence the Storthing exercised the authority of a government as though the King were still existent.

So much from the Norwegian standpoint. From the Swedish it may be said—as Dr. Nansen does not—that, first, the King felt himself within his right in exercising the veto power, believing that he would obtain ultimate support; and that when he did not, the fourth sovereign of the House of Bernadotte realized the old Greek yearning of some one to rule who would be both philosopher and king. He has been sincere in his attitude toward the interests of the union, but—in Norwegian opinion at least—he has not sufficiently appreciated the perpetual Swedish resistance to Norway's legitimate claims. He has large enough vision, however, to appreciate the fact that the real union of the Scandinavian peoples has always been menaced by a continuance of the Rigsakt, wherever distrust has been openly evident. Separation, with mutual respect, is surely better than union with mutual distrust.

Separation in methods has taken place. But a real union of Scandinavian hearts remains. Every Norwegian must echo Dr. Nansen's generous words: "We regard it as quite obvious that the Norwegian and Swedish people must hold together. We cannot think of the possibility of Sweden being attacked without instantly hastening to her help with all our might."

Public Opinion and Law[1]

IT is a commonplace in America to say that Public Opinion is the mother of law. But this is true only when the mother exists, and in many communities there is no public opinion. Public opinion can exist only where there is some mutuality of respect. The opinion of the peasants in Russia has had no appreciable effect on the laws enacted by the bureaucracy. The opinion of the slaves in the United States had no effect on law in the Southern States. To make public opinion effective there must be, first, a real public opinion—that is, some community of thought—and, second, some power to bring that public opinion to bear on the lawmaking power. When these two conditions are fulfilled, public opinion has effect on law, and its effect on law is in the direct ratio of its real coherence and its effective relation to the lawmaking power. Thus, so long as there was no general public opinion against political corruption in the United States, that corruption waxed worse and worse. When public opinion was finally aroused, it was for a time made ineffective because it did not control the machin-

[1] *Lectures on the Relation between Law and Opinion in England During the Nineteenth Century.* By Albert Venn Dicey. The Macmillan Co., New York.
History of Political Theories. By William Archibald Dunning. The Macmillan Co., New York.

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ery necessary to cure the evil—namely, the nominating conventions.

In Professor Dicey's book the changes in social legislation and the precedent changes in public opinion are clearly and interestingly traced. First law was a guardian of special privilege. Then Jeremy Bentham appeared with his doctrine that the object of law is, or should be, not the protection of privilege, but the "greatest good of the greatest number." A good concrete illustration of this principle is afforded by the following quotation from his writings, in which he replies to Tory defense of special privilege:

Justice Ashurst. The law of this country only lays such restraints on the actions of individuals as are necessary for the safety and good order of the community at large.

Truth. I sow corn: partridges eat it, and if I attempt to defend it against the partridges, I am fined or sent to gaol: all this for fear a great man, who is above sowing corn, should be in want of partridges.

Out of Jeremy Bentham's doctrine that the end of law should be the greatest good of the greatest number—which is a principle for the guidance of legislation, not the foundation of ethics—with the accompanying principle that "every person is, in the main and as a general rule, the best judge of his own happiness," issued the doctrine of individualism; this, namely, that law should protect only the rights of the individual, leaving all individuals free to pursue their own happiness in their own way. But this principle did not produce general happiness. On the contrary, it produced much misery. These results aroused the protests of a second class of reformers, who had no desire, however, to go back to the law of special privilege, but demanded that society move forward to collective action for collective benefit. The principle of individualism is thus defined and denounced by Thomas Arnold. It is, he says, "one of the falsest maxims which ever pandered to human selfishness under the name of political wisdom—I mean the maxim that civil society ought to leave its members alone, each to look after their several interests, provided they do not employ direct fraud or force against their neighbors." Humanity protested against the iniquities of the factory system and brought it under law, first for the protection of women and children, and afterward extended the principle to other legislation for the promotion of the interests of the working classes, as in shipping bills to protect sailors, landlord legislation for tenants in Ireland, housing measures for the poor of London and other great cities. Almost simultaneously the rise of trade-unionism promoted among the working people themselves a spirit of collectivism, with its doctrine that a benefit to one is a benefit to all, and an injury to one is an injury to all. At the same time new conditions in commerce required combination and co-operation for effective economic results and so created great corporations, which are themselves at once a product and a promoter of collectivism. These contemporaneous movements, coupled with a recognition of the fundamental principle of Benthamism, that the object of law is, or should be, the greatest good of the greatest number, and that in the main every man is the best judge of his own happiness, led to an extension of the suffrage and the establishment of a system of public education. How rapid and how radical have been the development of co-operative action, that is, the combining of the people for common ends and to promote common welfare, is indicated in two significant facts: one, that until 1829 the capital of England did not possess a regular body of police; the other, that prior to 1832 the State recognized no responsibility for the elementary education of the people of England, and neither incurred any expense for that purpose nor imposed on parents any obligation to provide for the education of their children, and not until 1870 was any direct attempt made by the Government to secure such elementary education for the children.

We have no space here to go further into details. It must suffice to say that Professor Dicey makes it very clear that some measure of collectivism is a necessary result of human progress, and is produced by a public recognition of the two truths that the only just end of law is the greatest good of the greatest number, and the only way to secure that end is by the co-operative action of all

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who are seeking by common methods a common benefit. They who dread what they call the socialistic tendencies of our age will wait in vain for the ebb of the rising tide. It is not a tide; it is a river, flowing with resistless current, and, in spite of some eddies and back currents, with steady progress toward a better human fellowship than the past has ever known. Such at least is our deduction from Professor Dicey's interesting history.

This progress toward brotherhood, and not less the effect of public opinion on law, seem to us also to be illustrated, though perhaps less strikingly, in Professor Dunning's volume. A successor and companion to his "History of Political Theories, Ancient and Mediæval," published three years ago, this "History of Political Theories" traces the progress of philosophico-political thought from the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century—that is, from the beginning of the Reformation to the beginning of that revolutionary movement which issued in the republicanism of France and of America and in the scarcely less democratic institutions of England. Luther, Bodin, Bellarmine, Grotius, Hooker, Milton, Hobbes, Spinoza, Locke, Montesquieu, are among the writers who here find interpretation. The interpreter perhaps sometimes assumes too much knowledge in his reader; the book is not as easy reading as Professor Dicey's. But the author is not obscure and is judicial. He not only appreciates the external conditions of the several writers, but also their temperaments, and is at once sympathetic and critical. We rise from perusing his history with the conviction that the political philosophers were largely if not altogether the advocates of a cause and often of a client, though frequently so unconsciously. Or, if that statement is liable to be misunderstood, let us say that they were the representatives of a public opinion, generally of the opinion of a school or party or tendency. Thus, for example, one might anticipate that the Reformers warring against absolutism in the Church would from the first war equally against absolutism in the State. Not so. Some power must take over the property of the disestablished and disendowed Church; some power must set up institutions of religion to take the place of those that had been overthrown. Partly for these reasons, partly from an instinctive alliance with the State on whose support the Reformers depended for their lives and liberties, partly impelled by reaction against the anarchism of the Antinomians and the Anabaptists, the first Reformers were defenders of the supreme authority of the sovereign and of the duty of implicit obedience and absolute submission to him.

So, again, comparing Milton and Hobbes, the one is unmistakably the representative of republican opinion, the other the advocate of absolutism, though the latter was ungratefully disavowed by his clients. Of all these writers Grotius appears the most independent of temporary currents, as he was the one who most clearly enunciated the doctrine of absolute justice to which not only kings and peoples but God himself must conform in order to be just. "Natural law is absolutely immutable, so that it cannot be changed by God himself. That the Almighty should make right that which is by virtue of reason wrong, is as inconceivable as that he should make twice two something other than four." In this and in this alone is to be found the corrective of that absolutism of the multitude which is quite as perilous to liberty as the absolutism of an autocrat. With the exception of Grotius, in so far as he is an exception, the political philosophers have been quite as much the interpreters as the teachers of their age, and the history of political theories as found in their writings is the history of continually changing and always conflicting currents of popular thought and feeling.

These two books supplement each other, and constitute an interesting and valuable contribution to political history in which it is possible to discern the preparations for the Reign of the Common People.

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Comment on Current Books

B. R. Haydon and His Friends. By George Paston. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $3, net.

Haydon was a man much talked of in his day but little mentioned in our own. As a critic, despite his own sharply cut individuality, his egotism and vanity stood in the way of a proper perspective of men and things. As a painter he had undeniable power, and he used it with knowledge; he was a painter who thought. His pictures appealed strongly to some—especially to his great contemporary, Wordsworth; to others they were rather the effort of mere determination and effrontery; as Watts said of them, "I cannot find that he [Haydon] strikes upon any chord that is the basis of true harmony." Haydon never reached the summit of power; Mrs. Browning once described him by declaring that he stood only on the slope of genius, and that hence his life was one long agony of self-assertion. The present well-printed volume by Miss Symonds (who writes under the pen-name of "George Paston") helps us more clearly to realize Haydon's excellencies and limitations.

Cathedrals of Northern Spain (The). By Charles Rudy. Illustrated. L. C. Page & Co., Boston. $2, net.

When one who has sojourned in Spain reads on the outside of a neat paper box, "The Cathedrals of Northern Spain," and then opens the box, and on the back of the volume reads, "The Cathedrals of No. Spain," he receives a certain shock. Spain is nothing if not filled with the spirit of "Mañana" (to-morrow); that is to say, with the spirit of gentle deliberation. That the publishers should indulge in so undeliberative a word as "No." for "Northern" would certainly shock the Spaniard, as it shocks even the practical American who has been in Spain. Other shocks come when one opens the book itself and finds Segovia printed Segova, and "Saragossa," "Saragosse." But this is hypercriticism. We turn to the text. Here we meet with still other shocks. For instance, we learn concerning Spanish wealth in lateral chapels that "not a cathedral but has about twenty of them; not a church but possesses its half a dozen;" or this, "Not a penny do the rich, or even royalty, give to better the country people's piteous lot; neither does the Church." Such sweeping statements will hardly prejudice the reader in favor of the author's criticisms either of Spanish architecture or of Spanish society, "reinforced" as they are by illustrations on too small a scale, and surrounded by unnecessary arabesques. Hence the book, as a whole, will hardly appeal to any but the superficial reader.

Cities of Paul. By William Burnet Wright. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. $1.10, net.

The story of Greek cities told here is told with a moral purpose. Their glory has passed, but the evils that corrupted them still flourish among us. "Political rings," says Dr. Wright, "more insolent and more rapacious than that which plundered Tarsus, are objects familiar to most Americans." Such evils are depicted here, as well as the glory which they tainted. This is the true use of all history, as a mirror in which the present may see itself for self-correction. With such a purpose Dr. Wright has put his ample knowledge to a highly instructive as well as an entertaining use.

Daughters of the Puritans. By Seth Curtis Beach. The American Unitarian Association, Boston. $1.10, net.

The effect of this volume is that which is produced by the massing of—let us say roses. Memoirs of all these remarkable women have been separately published. Here they are assembled by an artistic hand in a resplendent galaxy. The list includes Catharine Maria Sedgwick, Mary Lovell Ware, Lydia Maria Child, Dorothea Lynde Dix, Sarah Margaret Fuller Ossoli, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Louisa May Alcott—all but Mrs. Stowe Massachusetts born, she of Connecticut. It will not escape notice that these were all "liberal Christians." Reminiscences of the emergence of these daughters of the Puritans from the Calvinism of their ancestors, and other notices of the literary and humanitarian movements in which they engaged, add a distinct historical interest to these biographies. The thoughtful reader instinctively feels that New England owes much of her greatness to the nobility of her women.

Deluge (The). By David Graham Phillips. Illustrated. The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis.

A "frenzied" tale of Wall Street and high finance. The principal figure is evidently intended for a portrait of a certain broker who has attained much notoriety by his sensational methods of doing business and his literary attacks on his former associates in financial transactions. Mr. Phillips is very much in the fashion in portraying all his bankers, brokers, lawyers, and promoters as rascals, whose rascality seems to vary in direct proportion to their cleverness. As usual, he has written a readable story, but its extravagance deprives it of any claim to be taken seriously.

Dwarf's Spectacles and Other Fairy Tales (The). By Max Nordau. Translated by Mary J. Safford. Illustrated. The Macmillan Co, New York. $1.50.

Just such stories as would delight a child sitting cozily within her father's arm, in the twilight, before a blazing fire, may be found in this book. Simple, perfectly frank fairy tales they are, in which lovely though poor ladies sell their golden hair to buy bread for their little girls, and wake up the next morning to find all the beautiful hair grown again!

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Insects and birds and flowers talk together naturally, just as they should, and the grown-up reader is as pleased as the child—with everything but the pictures.

Early Work of Titian (The). (Newnes' Art Library. Illustrated. Frederick Warne & Co., New York. $1.75.

Mr. Malcolm Bell contributes the text to this volume. By his more exhaustive treatment of other painters Mr. Bell had prepared us for greater originality and brilliancy than we find in this necessarily much condensed account of Titian. The account is a good one, however, and will be appreciated even by those who may not agree with Mr. Bell's assertion that Venice herself was the chief active force in Titian's art evolution. We are glad to note, however, the emphasis laid upon the fact that Titian was always sincere, serious, convinced. Sensuous or careless he might be; he was never vulgar or trivial.

Elements of Sociology (The). By Frank W. Blackmar, Ph.D. (Citizen's Library.) The Macmillan Co., New York. $1.25.

This book is a working manual for the student, aiming to present a brief outline of sociology founded on the principles established by standard authorities on the subject.

Evolution of a Great Literature (The). By Newton Mann. The James H. West Co., Boston. $1.50, net.

This is a critical account of the origin and structure of the Bible according to the radical modern school. It is written for laymen, and we judge by a layman. In style it is clear and intelligible; in spirit it is purely analytical; its conclusions are those of the extreme radicals. Its fundamental postulate, that "the Hebrew literature was an evolution and not a miracle," will commend the book to the modern layman. But, unfortunately, the author accepts the hypotheses of the negative critics with the same unquestioning credence which the extreme conservative gives to the unverified reports of tradition. This spirit of credulity is no better when it accepts an unproved hypothesis than when it accepts an unverified tradition; perhaps a trifle worse. The authority which the author cites most frequently—we believe the only authority cited in the body of the book—is the "Encyclopædia Biblica;" and while that work contains some scholarly articles, it is pervaded by an unscientific prepossession which destroys its value as an encyclopædia for scholars. The imperfect scholarship of the author of this volume deprives it of value as a critical analysis of the Bible for the lay reader; because its conclusions cannot be accepted without further investigation. Its purely analytical character deprives it of the value which a volume no more judicial might possess if it were pervaded by a literary spirit. The author closes his preface by saying, "I have been sitting at the feet of the foremost scholars of the great Evangelical Churches; their disclosures have filled me with light and joy." His interpretation of their teaching will not fill the reader with light and joy. It contains little if any of that spirit of appreciation which characterizes Driver's treatment of Deuteronomy, or Kent's treatment of the Wisdom Literature, or Genung's treatment of the Book of Job, or Griffith's treatment of the Song of Songs, or George Adam Smith's treatment of Isaiah, or Ramsay's treatment of the Book of Acts, or Godet's and Sanday's treatment of New Testament books; and all these writers are certainly as independent of any ecclesiastical prepossession as our author, and are much more thorough and more judicial in their critical judgment on questions of data, authorship, and method of composition.

Filippino Lippi. Illustrated. (Newnes' Art Library.) Frederick Warne & Co., New York. $1.75.

In his prefatory text to the many illustrations of Filippino Lippi's paintings and frescoes, Mr. P. G. Konody affirms that Filippino "came closer to what we call the modern spirit than did any painter of the fifteenth century." With this hint of the interest which the student of art may take in such a text, the latest addition to a capital series of monographs on painters should receive wide reading. Mr. Konody gives a careful account of the various suppositions as to Filippino's birth. The generally accepted opinion is that Filippino was the son of the monk Fra Filippo Lippi and the nun Lucrezia Buti. The love-making and the elopement of Fra Filippo Lippi and the beautiful Lucrezia form one of the most romantic chapters of a romantic age.

Garden of Nuts (The). By Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D. A. C. Armstrong & Son, New York. $1.25.

This phrase in the Song of Songs (vi. 11) has been employed by mystics to denote the prophecies, allegories, parables, and poetry of the Old Testament. As here used it is applied to both Testaments, and covers a short series of mystical expositions as specimens of the method which finds profound spiritual suggestions in such a statement as "they came unto the iron gate." These are introduced by an exposition of Christian mysticism and its principles. On this subject Dr. Nicoll, a man of note in the literary world, may command a hearing that many might fail of. Mysticism, we are here told, is "counsel to the exiled" who would return to "the fontal source of souls" and attain "an absolute knowledge of God." Whether such absolute knowledge is possible except to the Absolute himself may be questioned; immediate knowledge is doubtless intended. Mysticism is an inseparable element of religion: its development depends on the degree to which the subjective side of religion is cultivated, in a progressive realization of the primal fact of being—"In him we live." There is none too much of this culture, but rather a lack. The future is probably more on the side of the mystic than of his critics. As a healer of religious strife, an apostle of "the peace of God that passeth understanding," the past bears witness to his praise.

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Garden That I Love (The). By Alfred Austin. Illustrated. The Macmillan Co., New York. $2, net.

A new edition of a delightful book about a garden—a real old-fashioned English garden—the flowers that grew riotously in it and the people that wandered through it and loved it. This edition is illustrated in color with drawings that are as delightful as the text.

Great Word (The). By Hamilton Wright Mabie. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

A volume uniform in style with Mr. Mabie's previous books, containing the series of editorials on various aspects of love which have appeared from time to time in The Outlook during the past year.

History of Henry Esmond, Esq. (The). By William Makepeace Thackeray. Illustrated. The Macmillan Co., New York. $2.

Mr. Hugh Thomson's drawings make this edition notable. Like those he made for "Cranford," these are not only exquisite bits of artistic workmanship, but catch the spirit of the time and the author's conception of his characters. Mr. Austin Dobson's introduction wisely refrains from analytical criticism of what is universally accepted as a masterpiece, and gives instead some interesting information about the way the book came to be written, its reception, the historical portraiture involved, and Thackeray's skill in reproducing eighteenth-century atmosphere.

History of the German Struggle for Liberty. Vol. IV. By Poultney Bigelow, A.M. Illustrated. Harper & Bros., New York. $2.25, net.

Like its predecessors, this fourth volume of Mr. Poultney Bigelow's "History of the German Struggle for Liberty" comprises a succession of vivid pictures of persons and events rather than a sober, detailed, and connected history. Of persons, there stand out with clean-cut distinctness such rulers as Frederick William IV. and the Prince of Prussia (later William I.), Ludwig of Bavaria, Ferdinand of Austria, and Louis Philippe of France; such political theorists and agitators as Engels, Marx, and Blum; such authors as Goethe, Heine, and Guizot. Of events, there stand out with equal distinctness the great Silesian famine and the Revolution of 1848. It is an impressive fact in history that a famine generally precedes a revolution.

Interludes in Verse and Prose. By Right Hon. Sir George Otto Trevelyan, Bart. The Macmillan Co., New York. $1.

The charm of youthful fun and imagination lingers about these plays and verses written by the future biographer and historian almost half a century ago. Together with a few early letters from India, they are put into one volume. While both undergraduate life and social conditions in India have altered (if we agree with President Woodrow Wilson, the former is under more conservative influence than the latter), there is enough remaining in each to call up comprehending smiles upon re-reading these pages. Especially good are the letters of the "Competition Wallah" (*sic*), with his clever appreciation of Anglo-India and his deliciously complacent Anglo-Indian spelling of Hindostani. To this day the omniscient English traveler, industriously gathering quite erroneous notes and explaining India to quiet Indian residents, may be found, exactly as Sir George Trevelyan pictured him long ago in "The Dawk Bungalow." A fine portrait of the author is given as frontispiece.

Introduction to the Old Testament. By John Edgar McFadyen, M.A. A. C. Armstrong & Sons, New York. $1.75.

There was need of a work of this type. For critical introductions it would be difficult to supply better than we have already had. A work was required not only sufficiently critical to meet in general the demand of the new learning, but also one laying emphasis on the religious significance and value of the Old Testament, book by book, and on the human interest and sympathy that colors it all. This is what Professor McFadyen has supplied. Following the Hebrew order of the books, he presents the literary problem in its prominent features, disencumbered of details, in such a way as to make clear to laymen the scholar's perspective of the whole, and at the same time to justify the essential truth held by the Church, "that in a sense altogether unique the religion of Israel is touched by the finger of God."

Irenic Theology. By Charles Marsh Mead, Ph.D., D.D. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1.50.

The irenic attitude of Dr. Mead in his vindication of traditional orthodoxy is evinced in his declaration that "the humanitarian Christian [*i. e.*, Unitarian], however defective his belief may seem," is still a "brother," and as such "is to be received." "Come now, let us reason together" expresses the aim of the whole book at "the promotion of the spirit of harmony in religious discussions." The general plan involves a discussion of antithetical and of mediating views in physical science, in theistic problems, and in Christian doctrine. Dr. Mead holds the evolutionary theory of sin as accounted for by our brute inheritance to be no improvement on the theory of an original fall of the race, "every one of whom fails to be what God wills him to be." It would seem that he fails to see that the race is still in the making, not made, and that the evolutionary theory would substitute for the former static conception of man as a fallen creature the dynamic conception of a constructive work, the progressive creation of a spiritual humanity. Concerning the incarnation, Dr. Mead regards it as absurd to speak of "the eternal humanity of God." Since humanity is imperfect, Deity and humanity cannot be identical in nature. Yet they are moral natures. Can there, then, be two kinds of moral nature not the same? The radical mistake in this subject is conceiving of man as "mere man." But whatever dissent at these and other points Dr. Mead's argument may elicit, the

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irenic spirit pervading it is auspicious for the larger ultimate agreement toward which Christian thought is moving on.

Jewish Encyclopedia (The): A Descriptive Record of the History, Religion, Literature, and Customs of the Jewish People from the Earliest Times to the Present Day. Prepared by More than Six Hundred Scholars and Specialists under the Direction of the following Editorial Board: Cyrus Adler, Ph.D.; Wilhelm Bacher, Ph.D.; Gotthard Gottheil, Ph.D.; Emil G. Hirsch, Ph.D., LL.D.; Joseph Jacobs, B.A.; Kaufmann Kohler, Ph.D.; Herman Rosenthal; Isidore Singer, Ph.D.; Crawford H. Toy, D.D., LL.D.; Isaac K. Funk, D.D., LL.D.; Frank H. Vizetelly, F.S.A.; and William Popper, M.A., Ph.D. Volume XI.—**Samson—Talmid Hakam.** Illustrated. Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York. $6.

This great work, the joint product of Jewish and Christian writers, fully sustains its early promise as it nears its completion. Among its most important subjects are Spinoza (finely illustrated) and Saul of Tarsus, men singularly alike both in their world-wide pre-eminence and in their rejection by their own people. Upon Spinoza the dubious verdict is here pronounced that his thought "must be regarded either as the consummation or as the evisceration of Jewish philosophy." Saul, or Paul, though severely censured, is recognized as "an instrument in the hand of Divine Providence to win the nations for Israel's God of righteousness." The articles on Sarah and Solomon exhibit a constant feature of this work in presenting, together with the critical view, the curious and often grotesque legends with which rabbinical literature has embroidered the Biblical story. Other noticeable subjects are South Africa, where Zionists have established seventy-four societies; Spain with its bloody rehearsals of the outrages on Jews now being perpetrated in Russia; the Synagogue, to which, with illustrations, twenty-four pages are devoted. Statistics and Stature occupy a dozen pages with facts and figures concerning the Jewish population. Under Suicide a fact for which no explanation is advanced is that during the last half-century suicide increased among the Jews of Western Europe "to a much greater extent than among the Christian population." Biographical articles are numerous, and include some honored names in our own community.

Man and the Earth. By Nathaniel Southgate Shaler. Fox, Duffield & Co., New York. $1.50, net. (Postage, 10c.)

Forecasts are valuable when made by a trained observer and thinker on a broad basis of fact. It is not, however, mere prophecy that Professor Shaler is concerned with, but rather the conduct that it prompts to for the conservation of man's heritage in the earth. The earth is young and man is young, both of them good for at least a hundred million years to come, during which geology foresees no change great enough to imperil our race. But man wastes his inheritance. Over one-third of the food-yielding power of the Mediterranean basin is gone. Everywhere a reckless exploitation of the soil goes on. It must ere long be checked by rigorous legal control. Æsthetic values likewise must be guarded against destruction by economic interests. Primitive nature must not be wholly swept away by ax and plow and rifle. So much of it as judicious reservations can secure will be helpful to the higher needs of life and learning. Not all of Professor Shaler's chapters have this practical issue; some are more speculative. Coal will be gone by the twenty-third century; iron sooner; what shall we do without them? For coal we shall probably use water-power generating electricity; for iron possibly aluminum—we are not certain of that. But we may count on the progress of co-operation so uniting mankind as to make "a geological agent of singular capacity,"

> "under whose command
> Is Earth and Earth's, and in their hand
> Is Nature like an open book."

Professor Shaler concludes his eminently instructive survey with a plea for such a change in the teaching of physical science as will make it ethically as well as economically serviceable, a help to a more dutiful conception of the great house of nature as to be conserved and beautified for our successors in its occupation.

Memoir of Dr. James Jackson (A). By James Jackson Putnam, M.D. Illustrated. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. $2.50, net.

It is nearly forty years since Dr. Jackson passed away. It is time to remind the present generation of its debt to him for the establishment on sound foundations of the medical learning still growing to more and more. Dr. Jackson's activity, and that of his ancestors and contemporary relatives, was closely connected at many points with the development of Harvard and the history of Massachusetts, of which this memoir contains many interesting and some curious details. His grandmother, of whom a portrait is presented, was the "Dorothy Q." whom Dr. Holmes has celebrated in verse. Dr. Jackson himself is commemorated in Dr. Holmes's poem "The Morning Visit." "He is," said Dr. Green in "The Memorial History of Boston," "perhaps the most conspicuous medical character in the history of Massachusetts."

Micky. By Evelyn Sharp. Illustrated. The Macmillan Co., New York. $1.50.

A lively and amusing story about an English boy and his little brother. It seems, however, more likely to interest older people who like to read about children than the children themselves.

Normandy: The Scenery and Romance of its Ancient Towns. By Gordon Home. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $3.50, net.

This book has real atmosphere. It is charming in paper, print, and illustration. Its text is illuminative, graphic, and sympathetic. Mr. Home has produced a work on Normandy to appeal to every one who has ever visited that interesting region.

Novels of Henry James (The): A Study. By Elisabeth Luther Cary. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1.25.

While it is undoubtedly true that the best

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critic is a friend, it is also true that the highest type of friendship is rare. The student of Henry James who writes of him here is an avowed friend, yet she exercises discrimination, and while her adverse comments are so few that they make but little impression upon the reader, yet the effect is one distinctly just. Accustomed to weigh and define, a trained writer, a student of character and literature, Miss Cary is well equipped for her congenial task. She describes Henry James as French in his methods, but possessed of a deep and subtle conscientiousness such as the French never knew, controlled by religion in the large meaning of the word. She defines the tendency of his effort to be this: "To come by unwearying perception at the life of the soul, and to render this with an art worthy of the difficult, the well-nigh impossible subject." He may show a lack of intimacy with the good brown earth, but he has explored the dim recesses of the soul. As to the divisions of the subject selected by Miss Cary one can only indicate in a brief notice the scope of her study and stimulate the curiosity of the reader. Mr. James is studied in his representation of the American character; in his feeling for the exterior, or genius of place; in his attitude toward the question of wealth; and, finally, as to his imagination and philosophy. Under the former, several delicious bits of his pungent, quiet wit are referred to, and it is intimated that it is perfectly possible with Mr. James to miss his philosophy of life—not to see the wood because of the trees. A bibliography compiled by Frederick Allen King completes a remarkably interesting and well-rounded piece of contemporary criticism.

Pastoral Idea (The). By James Theodore Inskip, M.A. The Macmillan Co., New York. $1.75.

This volume of lectures to theological students has in view the ministry of the Anglican Church. It may be heartily commended to the ministry of all churches, both for its insistence on the culture of spiritual life and for the emphasis it puts on practical details—not only of personal conduct, but also of parochial administration. How to work a parish is a matter on which valuable hints may be found here by any minister. Nothing is too small to escape Mr. Inskip's counsel or warning; for "trifles make perfection," as Ruskin said. He is a zealous Churchman, but no partisan, and is more concerned for applied than for theoretical Christianity.

Primary Facts in Religious Thought. By Alfred Wesley Wishart. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago. 75c., net.

No greater service can be achieved in the unfinished, one might almost say barely begun, task of Christianizing Christendom than by effecting a clear and a generally accepted discrimination between religion and its near relatives, often wrongly identified with it—theology, the church, the Bible. Mr. Wishart's essays speak helpfully to this point, as well as for the relations of religion to things more vitally identified with it—morality, social progress, Christ. They are well adapted by their brevity and simplicity to the need of the average man. If they fall short in any point, it is in not recognizing the essential identity of religion and morality beneath their superficial differences. Morality being in its essence a life of aspiration toward the moral ideal, which belongs to the realm of the infinite, and religion being the general attitude of life toward the infinite, these two are at the root one. The point here needing emphasis is that the "merely moral" man recognized in popular speech as such, the man of merely conventional morality, is not thoroughly and really moral.

Problems of Philosophy (The). By Harald Höffding. Translated by Galen M. Fisher. The Macmillan Co., New York. $1.50.

This little book by one of the most distinguished modern thinkers is strong meat for beginners, and needs the expository preface supplied by Professor James. To digest its condensed thought, conveyed in abstract and technical form, this will be serviceable as pepsin even to some who are not babes in philosophy. Professor Höffding holds with the empirical school that we can never quite rationalize our experience; that when our attempts to do so have gone to the utmost, we run against a blind remainder which defies rational solution, not only in the problems of consciousness, knowledge, and being, but also in those of ethics and religion. As Professor James explains him, Professor Höffding's general attitude toward idealistic philosophy is in harmony with it. But the standpoint from which he surveys the world of experience is that of empirical philosophy, which ever encounters in insoluble problems what he terms an "irrational" element. This, however, is because the world is yet unfinished, struggling toward completeness. And so his final word is a word of reconciliation between these antagonistic philosophies: "The insolubility of the problems really only means that . . . new horizons, new goals, and new tasks always rise before us."

Risen Sun (The). By Baron Suyematsu. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $3, net.

Baron Suyematsu is the son-in-law of Marquis Ito. Together with Baron Kaneko, Baron Suyematsu was educated by the veteran Japanese statesman, who called these disciples "my sons." With such a training, it was not surprising that these young men took high position in Japan and were sent to England and America as unofficial representatives of the Japanese Empire during the recent war. The work done by them was of vital importance to their country and was also of benefit to England and America. By tongue and by pen they gave to those with whom they came in contact and to the peoples at large an impression of Japan both new and authoritative. We are glad that Baron Suyematsu has collected in this volume some of the articles which he has contributed to the magazines, and has cleverly entitled the book, not "The Land of the Rising Sun," but

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"The Risen Sun." The book is somewhat disjointed, patently showing that it is not a unified production. But its text is alike interesting and valuable. It has a double appeal to the reader in that the volume is restfully light to the hand.

Sermon Briefs. By Henry Ward Beecher. The Pilgrim Press, Boston. $1, net.

From a large quantity of such material the editors have selected some threescore of Mr. Beecher's outlines of sermons preached mostly in 1864–65. They are arranged in three divisions: "The Summons" to the Christian life," "The Warfare" of the Christian life, and "The Great Commander." The outline of a sermon on Daniel iv. 27 in eight small pages is prefixed in facsimile. Of course these "briefs" take first rank among volumes of "sermon stuff." Here is the gun that had marvelous effect. Yes, an effect that depended, and will ever depend, on "the man behind the gun."

Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A. By William B. Boulton. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $3, net.

We have already noticed the appearance of Sir Walter Armstrong's biography of Sir Joshua Reynolds. Since the appearance of that interesting volume another and less interesting biography of the great painter has appeared—Mr. Boulton's. In saying that the present volume is less interesting than Sir Walter's we do not say that it is less valuable. More people probably will agree with Mr. Boulton's critical estimate of the great President of the Royal Academy than with Sir Walter Armstrong's estimate. Mr. Boulton puts Sir Joshua about where most admirers, and especially most English admirers, have always placed him. Sir Walter, on the other hand, is iconoclastic in suddenly destroying some of the idolatry (as he would probably call it) for Sir Joshua with which most of us have regarded him in his occupancy of any field of art. Hence both biographies are necessary to one who would have an all-round view of Reynolds. Sir Walter's book is only the more interesting of the two because it is less conventional and more original.

Spiritual Sanity and Other Sermons. By the Rev. Samuel H. Virgin, D.D., LL.D. The American Tract Society, Boston. $1.

Dr. Virgin, now pastor emeritus of Pilgrim Congregational Church in New York, has published these sermons by request as a memorial of his long ministry. They have a rhetorical glow, and the quickening ring that every sermon should have. The title fits the whole as well as the initial discourse.

Stork's Nest. By J. Breckenridge Ellis. Illustrated. Moffat, Yard & Co., New York. $1.50.

A tale of rough life in northern Missouri. The plot is mysterious enough to arouse curiosity, yet not sufficiently well managed to prevent annoyance to the reader. The process of molding Emmy, the woodland beauty, into a "Person" suitable to be presented to her relatives in St. Louis, is confided to a youth who seeks health in the woods. He becomes one of a strange company, in which figure a ghost, a weak-minded boy, a brutal counterfeiter, and several tools of the last character. Floods and dangers of all sorts interfere with the progress of the romance, but love is triumphant over evil in the end—the bad people die, and the good live happy ever after.

Sunday-School Problems. By Amos R. Wells. W. A. Wilde Co., Boston. $1.

Many teachers in Sunday-schools may find these suggestions of practical value. They are not in every respect consistent. In one part of the book, for instance, literary criticism of the Bible is dismissed as outside the sphere of the Sunday-school; in another part a method of teaching is advocated which involves the use of Biblical criticism. Certainly in these days no effective consideration of "Christian evidences," such as is here advocated, can dispense with the class of evidences supplied by modern critical scholarship. There is little in the book suggestive of the application of modern educational methods or principles to Sunday-school teaching; but the book displays a tolerant spirit.

Vision and Task. By George Clarke Peck. Eaton & Mains, New York. $1.

This is a collection of sermons eminently good. Their vision is clear, and the task of the Christian life, both personal and social, is vigorously pressed upon the reader in full adaptation to the conditions of the modern world. Such discourses as "A Lesson for the Street," "Half Miracles," "The Other Man's Portion," exhibit also a felicitous choice of both titles and texts.

Wild Wheat. By M. E. Francis (Mrs. Francis Blundell). Longmans, Green & Co., New York. $1.50.

Every one who read Mrs. Blundell's delightful book of short stories called "Dorset Dear" will be glad to have this romance of Dorsetshire life and character. It has more of passion and sorrow in it than most of her romances, but is all the stronger for this, while there is enough of the humorous and cheerful to balance the whole. The love story is sweet and wholesome.

With Nelson in Command. By Robert Leighton. Illustrated. Andrew Melrose, London, England.

On Mr. Leighton seems to have fallen the late Mr. Henty's mantle as a purveyor of historical fiction for English boys. The Nelson centenary, no doubt, governed the choice of subject, but Nelson has always been and always will be a stirring and heroic figure and one that appeals to boys everywhere. The tale is spirited without being over-sensational, and is of the kind that most boys thoroughly enjoy.

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Correspondence

The Narrower Platform?

To the Editors of The Outlook:

The Outlook deems the Inter-Church Federation representing evangelical denominations "narrow" because it does not include the Unitarians. Would it not be narrower if it did admit them? Two cannot walk together unless they are agreed. Two elements can work together only on those things on which they agree. The wider the diversity of sects, the narrower the platform on which they can agree and the work which they jointly prosecute. It is not prejudice, but reason, that limits.

If Unitarians were combined with the evangelicals, all distinctively evangelical convictions would be tabooed; all evangelical work would be beyond the scope of the Federation, and it would be practically narrowed to the positive side of Unitarianism so far as it is accepted by evangelical churches. A few thousand non-evangelicals would narrow the platform of twenty million evangelicals.

The Outlook surely would not narrow the aim of the Federation to "civic improvement." If that were its only object, it would still be a narrow plan to limit membership to any denomination whatever. All good citizens should be eligible, whether religious or not. If the Federation had an ethical aim only, it could include Unitarians; it could also include all ethicists, whether Christian or atheist. But having a broader purpose, to unite a thousand evangelical agencies, it would be a fatal narrowing of its work to include those who have only partial sympathy with its aims. JOHN B. DONALDSON.

Davenport, Iowa.

[Conversely, the narrower the diversity of sects, the wider the platform on which they can agree. This is really an argument against federation. If there is to be federation at all, it can consistently demand no other test than that which Jesus set before his disciples. We do not find in the history of the early Church that that test narrowed the co-operative activities of his followers.—THE EDITORS.]

Assessing Office-Holders

To the Editors of The Outlook:

The article by Mr. Carr, in your issue of November 4, upon "Campaign Funds and Campaign Scandals," is timely and suggestive, but its effectiveness must be in direct proportion to its truthfulness; not truthfulness of intention, which, of course, is admitted, but of fact. He says, "But a far graver abuse, that has become a National scandal, is the assessment of office-holders." Both his argument and his citations of cases leads one to believe that he has especially in mind the assessment of Federal office-holders. Of course the assessment must eventuate in the delivery of the goods, of the money, or else the complaint would be a vain thing. Concede that in years gone by, before the idea of Civil Service Reform became a fact, assessments were made and enforced against office-holders, is it a fact that *now* it is a National scandal?

Being connected with a Bureau of the Government in which there are some three hundred clerks, from nearly all the States of the Nation, I thought I would test the statement made by Mr. Carr, and see how many clerks were assessed in any way, directly or indirectly, personally or by letter, and found that not over twenty had in any manner been approached upon the subject before or after the last election. I found none who had responded to the requests which were made.

In the past ten years there had occasionally been solicitations, but in very few cases had there been responses to those solicitations. A few years ago a committee from Ohio had flooded the Bureau with requests for contributions, but there were but few if any responses. There is no reason to suppose that this Bureau is exceptional in its exemptions from assessments; and if that is true, then it would seem that out of a possible twenty-four thousand clerks here in Washington not over sixteen hundred were assessed, and there is no proof that very many of those responded to the call. Of course I cannot speak for the office-holders outside of the Capital, but it would appear that the facts upon which the wholesale statement was made by Mr. Carr are not of a very substantial character if they are not other than those which I have cited. It is not my thought to minimize the wrong of assessments or holding up office-holders, but simply to correct a wrong impression as to what Civil Service Reform is doing for the people; it *does* protect the clerks, and they are not being systematically "held up," as they were when the spoils system was in operation.

EDWARD P. SEEDS.

The South and Sectionalism

To the Editors of The Outlook:

In your issue of October 28 you spoke of the visit of the President to the South, and said that "sectionalism has been the greatest enemy the South has ever had." Then, that "its disappearance from Southern politics will mean an immense gain of influence for the South in the councils of the Nation." It strikes me that you think the South was to blame for sectionalism. You know that the other sections of the country made political war on the South from 1850 to 1860, and real war with guns on the South from 1861 to 1865. The people who sold us the slaves taught their children that we were wicked to keep what they sold us. That was sectionalism. After the war the South was treated as only Ireland, Poland, and "the Low Coun-

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tries" have been treated since that awful raid of Joshua's up the valley of the Jordan. That was sectionalism. Such men as Thomas Wentworth Higginson played the part of Simon Girty, and tried to induce negroes to kill Southern people. To-day in the President's Cabinet there is no man who is a Southerner. In the Executive Department at Washington there is no Southern man holding any important position. No Southerner is an Ambassador to any foreign country. No Southerner is a Minister to any foreign land. Even the man with negro blood in him who is to be sent to Hayti is chosen from a Northern State. Not one of the great consulates is given to a Southerner. The Southerner is excluded from all participation in the executive branch of the Government as rigidly as is the Indian. Then talk about sectionalism being our fault! In all his Southern trip the President did not need a guard. There was never an approach of rudeness toward him. Does that argue any sectionalism on our part? Sectionalism is dying, and the South rejoices in it. Mr. Roosevelt will do away once for all with the sectionalism thrust at us so constantly and ostentatiously. The South wants no sectionalism, has never wanted it, and has been trying to destroy it for the past forty years very earnestly. ARCHIE HOOD.

Aliceville, Alabama.

The Jacob A. Riis Neighborhood Settlement

Once more we come pleading the cause of the mothers and the children in Henry Street with their friends. A year has gone by—to some of us the brightest, to some the heaviest of all the years. That is as God disposes: we can but do our little best as he gives us to see the light. Standing upon the threshold of the new year, we have asked one another the old question, Did it pay? And there was not one of us from whom did not come the hearty response, Yes, it did.

It has paid. It means little or much, as you look at it, that our house was home, for a season at least, for over sixty-one hundred women, children, and men during the year, representing nearly thirteen hundred different families; or that through the loving gifts of our friends we made a merry Christmas in a host of homes where the festival had brought no cheer before. To me that always means more than most of the rest. The long winter is so much easier to get over if Christmas is warm and happy, as it should ever be. It tells something of the spirit of the house to have the workers bear witness that the boys' and young men's clubs have doubled in strength and numbers, and that from the work with the mothers and girls results are coming as full of promise as the kindergarten itself. We have none of us forgotten the hoarding of precious pennies by the kindergarten children last fall that they might buy a Thanksgiving dinner for a "poor old lady" near by, and their pride in the resultant chicken which they kept with them all that day in the class. There were a few pennies left over, and a committee of the tots was chosen to buy potatoes at the grocery across the street, to go with the dinner. The whole kindergarten had reserved seats at the window watching them bargain and return with their cargo. No dinner of their own did they ever enjoy as they did the one the "poor old lady" ate alone in her tenement.

When the young girl upon whom watchful eyes had long been turned developed the dreaded cough—three of her people were under the sod, and a brother she had sent to Colorado in time, giving him all the money she had saved—her fellow-workers in the bookbinding, all girls as poor as she, got together half the money for the ticket to Denver and brought it to us with the caution that she must never know, "for then she would go to work before she should, to pay us back, and we are only too glad to help." These are the things that make our work a joy, for they tell us that we are reaching the hearts. All the rest is good, but that is best. Without it we might not say so confidently, "It did pay."

We had our happy summer at Twin Island, and now the winter is here, with its demand for fuel and for money to keep the house going these six months and more. We need workers, too. Also, we need fifteen thousand dollars right now, that we may keep Christmas under a roof without a mortgage on it. A couple of months ago we started to raise the thirty thousand dollars that is our heavy burden, as a memorial to my wife, so that her sweet name may ever be linked with the work of which she was the inspiration. Already ten thousand dollars has been subscribed. Mrs. Carnegie has promised the last five thousand dollars, and a good friend will put the house in such thorough repair when the debt is taken off that we shall not have any outlay from that source for years. So we ask our friends for an extra Christmas contribution, since the money has all to be raised before New Year to make this promise available. Will you not send your gifts to 48 Henry Street, addressed to "Clara Field, Treasurer," and so help us put the work on a footing where it will stay put for good and all?

JACOB A. RIIS, President.

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